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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

STALINISM

A Documented Study of
Its Ways and Purposes.

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

FACULTY OF ARTS.

by

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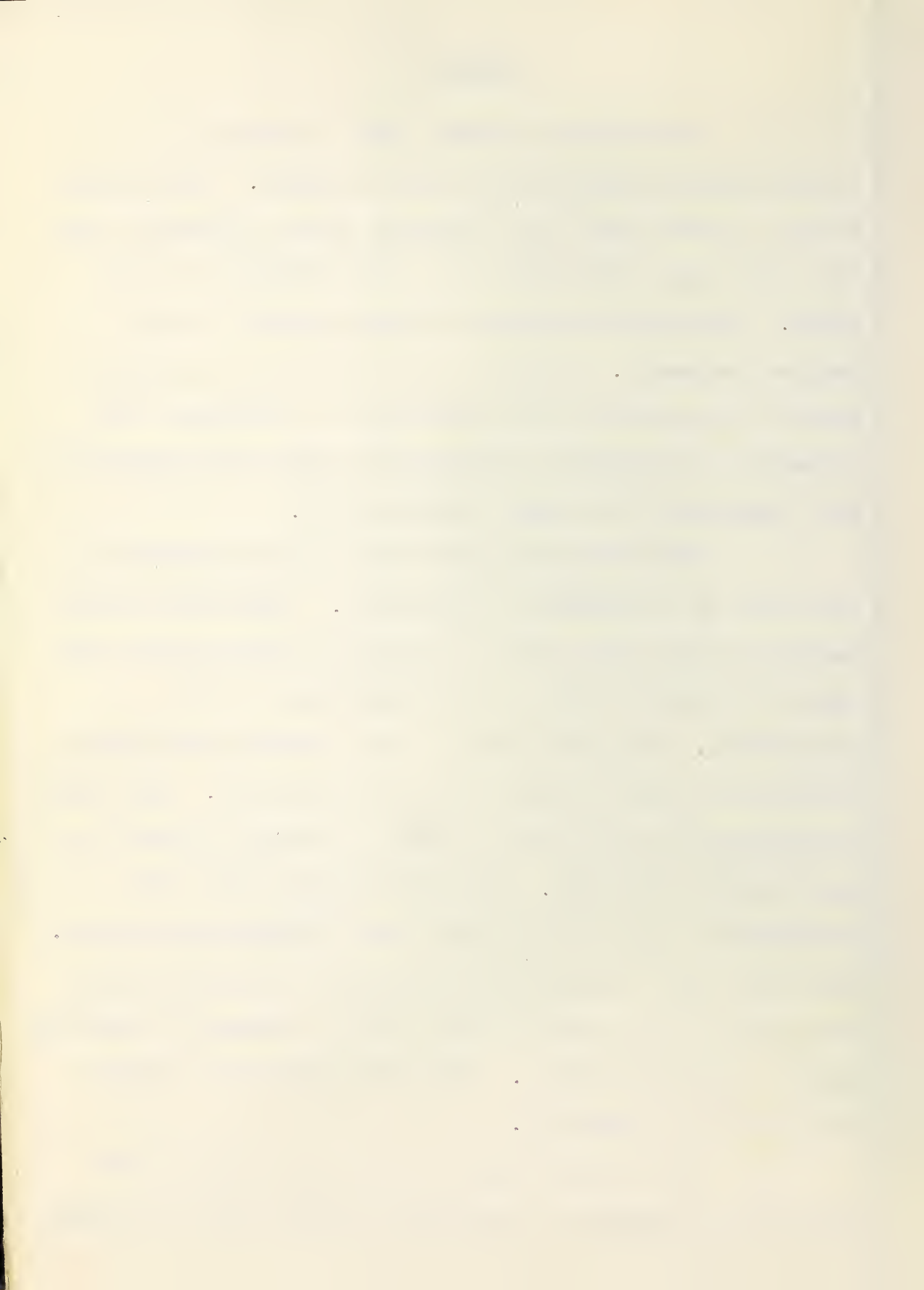
April 5, 1950.

PREFACE

This year, in 1950, World Communism is celebrating its hundred and second birthday. The specter which - so Marx said - was haunting Europe onehundred and two years ago, today haunts all five Continents of the globe. Stalinism has become the most dynamic of all Marxian movements. After the last war much speculation arose as to whether or not Stalinism has abandoned its orthodoxy as originally expounded by Lenin and embodied in the programme of the Third International.

The following pages will examine Stalinism in the light of its post-war development. They will present material which bears upon the Communist International and one of its major themes - the dictatorship of the proletariat. They will bring in the currently published writings of Prime Minister Stalin for evidence. They will demonstrate how Stalinism is being at present applied in the People's Democracy. They will inquire into the informative value of the Soviet mass communications media. They will make a comparison between the limitations upon discussion in the Soviet Union, and the bourgeois countries, mainly the United States. The last chapter will offer a few concluding arguments.

The entire study is based upon the recorded words of the Communists themselves, except for cases where



non-Communist testimony is introduced as secondary, corroborating evidence. Wherever the Soviet and non-Soviet newspapers and sources have not been directly consulted the note indicates where the reference was found. Of the English works that have been used in the preparation of this thesis special mention must be made of "The Country of the Blind," by George S. Counts and Nucia Lodge, a volume which is so eloquent because the authors say so little, and let the Soviet leaders speak for themselves.

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I. Heritage of the Comintern.

On May 22nd, 1943, at the peak of the European war, the Communist International was dissolved. This was announced through a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the International. Wide speculation was caused by the event and many held it to be a definite abandonment of the fundamentals of Communism; a complete break with the long Communist tradition which was inaugurated in the early days of March of 1919 when the Third International was founded in Moscow. Warm friends of the USSR found in the dissolution support for the views that the Soviet Union was entering upon an era of international cooperation.

Did the Soviet leaders undergo a change of heart? Did World Communism abandon its time-honored tenets about the inevitability of violent revolution? Did it cast off the teaching about the dictatorship of the proletariat? Was a World Soviet State still the cherished thought of the leaders of Communism? These were pertinent questions to ask.

Through the theses and statutes adopted by the Second Comintern Congress held in the summer of 1920 in Moscow this World Communist body announced that "in order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create

an international Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the state, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including the force of arms. . ."(1) Point three of the twenty-one conditions of admission to the Comintern also adopted in 1920 reminded the people everywhere that "The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment would be of assistance to the party to do its duty toward the revolution."

The attitude of the Comintern toward Parliaments was also quite unorthodox. "Parliamentarianism," the Comintern commented, "cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat." However, that did not mean that the Comintern was indiscriminately hostile to Parliaments. It stated that "Against participation in a political campaign one should not use the argument that Parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to direct the masses to blow up

the whole bourgeois machinery and Parliament itself from within." The election campaign was to be carried on "not for the purpose of obtaining a large number of seats in Parliament, but for the revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the slogans of the proletarian revolution." No constructive work was to be expected from the Communist parties in Parliament. In the words of the Third International, "the Communist party enters such institutions not in order to do constructive work, but so that it may enable the masses to destroy from within the bourgeois state machinery and Parliament itself." Boycotting the elections or leaving the Parliament was "permissible, chiefly when there is a possibility for an immediate transition to armed fight for power." "A Communist representative (i.e. member of Parliament, legislature, etc.)" was bound "to combine legal work with illegal work. ..." He was to bear in mind "that he is not a 'legislator' who is bound to seek agreement with other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the party there."

Eight years later when the Sixth World Congress met the tempers still ran high. The PROGRAMME adopted shed more light on the social philosophy of World

Communism. The problem of all the complex historical and social phenomena was easily solved, the result being that "The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully 'capturing' the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of parliamentary majority. The bourgeois resorts to every means of violence and terror in order to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of the bourgeois power. . . ." The PROGRAMME concluded by the famous last paragraph of the Communist Manifesto: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all countries, unite!"

All this was to lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all countries on the Soviet model until "The World Dictatorship of the

Proletariat" was realized. The task of the dictatorship was to liquidate all its enemies and to abolish capitalist exploitation. Later on, at some unspecified future date the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat would disappear after having performed its task. How and when that will happen the PROGRAMME did not say. It said, however, that afterwards a society of universal freedom and justice would come into existence.

The program of the Comintern in its entirety was not a host of loose suggestions which could be followed or rejected at will. Point sixteen of the twenty-one conditions of admission to the Comintern stated that "All the resolutions of the Congress of the Communist International, as well as resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International." The Sixth Congress adopted the Constitution which put the discipline and the allegiance of the Communists all over the world beyond doubt. Point three of the Constitution explicitly provided that "Membership of the Communist Party and of the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and the rules of the given Communist party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the party, actively work in it, abide

by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International and regularly pay Party dues." The Constitution was drafted by the late Bukharin and by the present head of the Soviet Government, Prime Minister Stalin.

Point five of the Constitution was no less explicit: "After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International . . . or by the leading Committees of the Communist International and of its various sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a Section of the Party membership is in disagreement with it."

The Communist affiliates abroad (i.e., the British, Canadian, etc. Communist parties) were pledged to "send to the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International) the minutes of their meetings and reports of their work . . ." The Party Congresses, ordinary and special, of the Communist parties could be "convened only with the consent of the E.C.C.I." There was little doubt that the entire work of the non-Russian Communist affiliates was carried on under the watchful eye of the strongest party of all, the Soviet Communist Party. "The Third International is the child of the Russian Communist Party," wrote Karl Radek enthusiastically in an

official report to his Party published in IZVESTIA, April 3rd, 1920. "It was created here in the Kremlin, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Russia. The Executive Committee of the Third International is in our hands."(2) It was plain where the Canadian, British, American and other Communists, officially linked with the Comintern, had stood for more than twenty years of the Comintern's existence.

None of the major items of the Comintern programme spread across scores of pages of its documents were modified until 1934 when the 'United Front' policy against Nazism was inaugurated. Even then the 'United Front' was only a temporary expedient and did not alter the fundamental aims and strategy of the Communist parties. The Constitution and the rules stood unchanged.

It should have come as no surprise, then, when a pamphlet issued in Canada by the party's Central Committee in the thirties WHAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY STANDS FOR, stated frankly that the party "got to the law-making institutions" not to aid their work but "to be a monkey-wrench in their machinery."(3) These words were merely an echo of the Comintern program.

So was the party's constitution. Article I, Section I, of the Constitution declared that "The name of

this organization shall be the COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, Section of the Communist International." This complied with Section I, Point 2, of the Comintern Constitution, "The various Parties affiliated to the Communist International are called Communist Parties of (name of country) (Section of the Communist International)."

Article II, Section I, of the Canadian party's Constitution provided that "The emblem of the Communist Party of Canada shall be the sickle and hammer emblem of the Russian Soviet Republic with the words 'Communist Party of Canada, Section of the Communist International' above, and the words 'All Power to the Workers' below." (9) The June, 1921, issue of THE COMMUNIST described the founding of the Canadian Communist Party and called it a Party "with a program of mass action, armed insurrection, civil war as the decisive, final form of mass-action for the destruction of the capitalist state, proletarian dictatorship in the form of Soviet Power as the lever of the Communist reconstruction of society." Six years later, in June, 1927, THE COMMUNIST proclaimed that "The Communist Party of Canada will systematically and persistently propagate to the working class the idea of the inevitability and necessity for a violent revolution" REPORT OF THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION of the party held in 1929 placed on

record "The unequivocal acceptance of the line of the C.I. (Communist International)" as being "the basis for unity in the Canadian Party." No less interesting was the revelation that I.V. Stalin and Georgi Dimitrov, the Secretary-General of the Communist International, were elected honorary members of the Presidium of the Canadian Party, according to CLARION, Toronto, October 11, 1937. And since, as we saw above, the Canadian Communists were pledged to blow up the machinery of the bourgeois state, it was only natural that "Comrade George of Canada, reporting on behalf of the Communist Party of Canada, assured the Moscow gathering: 'Ninety percent of the strikes since 1930 were organized and led by our Party. . . We must find wider and bolder methods by means of which we can carry on a genuine Bolshevik mass policy,'" as reported by the Comintern weekly, INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE, on October 7th, 1935.

In the United States the situation was inevitably similar. The book of William Z. Foster TOWARD SOVIET AMERICA published in 1932 carried the suggestion that "The American Soviet Government will be organized along the lines of the Russian Soviets. The American Soviet Government will join with the other Soviet Governments in a world Soviet Union. The American

Soviet Government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat." Foster specified that "in the early stages of the revolution, even before the seizure of power, the workers will organize Red Guards." As the Comintern program envisaged the liquidation of enemies so Mr. Foster envisaged that "under the dictatorship of the proletariat, all the capitalist parties - Republicans, Democrats, Progressives, Socialists, etc, will be liquidated, the Communist Party alone functioning as the Party of the toiling masses."(5) (Mr. Foster is at present head of the U.S. Communist party; recently, in connection with the Communist trial at New York City, Mr. Foster claimed that many of his books have been rendered obsolete by the people's front policy).(6)

It should also have astonished no one that the Communist parties all over the world endorsed the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement in 1939 and did not change their attitude till the time that the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany on June 22nd, 1949. Throughout the duration of the pact the uniformity was complete. The antifascist feelings underwent a remarkable change. The nazi concentration camps were almost forgotten. It was a world-wide spectacle of discipline which did much to damage the prestige of World Communism and cost the

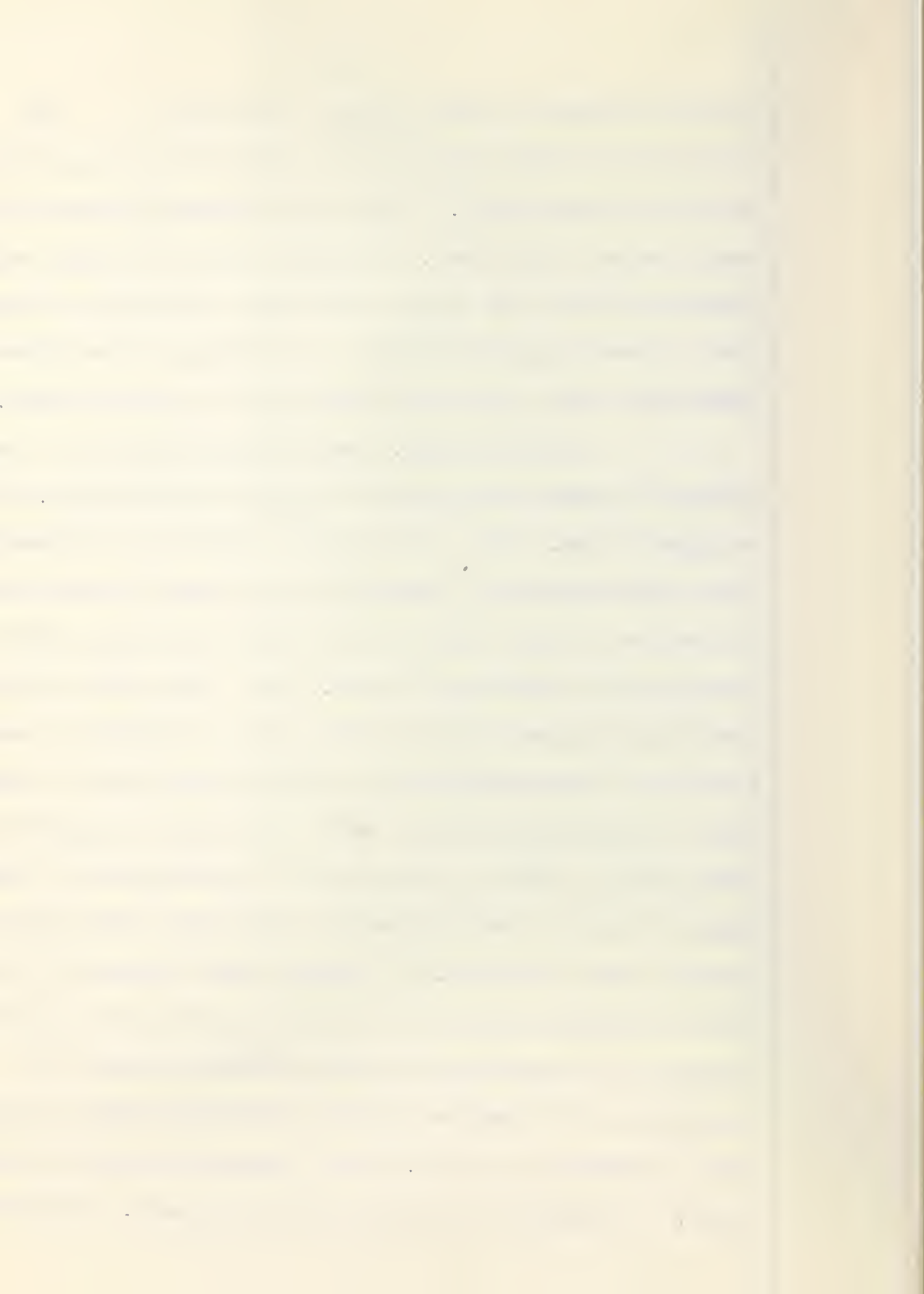
Communists many good friends.

On February 2nd, 1940, an article appeared in the German Communist paper DIE WELT signed by the Communist leader Walter Ulbricht, today leader of the Communist-controlled Socialist Unity Party in the Soviet zone of Germany. The article was published from Moscow. Ulbricht warned against British victory and contended that "The British plan has the less chance of success, the more deeply the friendship between the German and Soviet people is rooted in the working masses. (Italics are throughout his own.) Therefore, not only the Communists, but also many Social Democratic and National-Socialist workers regard it as their task NOT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO PERMIT A BREACH OF THE PACT. (Double exphasis in original.)"(7)

The LONDON DAILY WORKER was somewhat slow in answering the call of the hour. The pact was concluded on August 23rd. On September 2nd, 1939 DAILY WORKER published an official party manifesto in support of the war: "We are in support of all measures to secure the victory of democracy over fascism." Five weeks later, on October 7th, the party issued another manifesto which declared, "This war is not a war for democracy against fascism. It is not a war for the liberties of small nations. It is not a war

for the defence of peace against aggression. . . The responsibility for the present imperialist war lies equally on all warring powers." When the USSR was attacked the war again became a just one. Churchill was not waging an imperialist war but on the contrary, according to March, 1942, issue of LABOR MONTHLY a "weakening of the Churchill Government would mean the weakening of national unity." (8)

In the U.S.A. the 1940 platform of the party called President Roosevelt's policies "imperialist." (9) On August 16th, 1940, DAILY WORKER resolutely declared that "The Burke-Wadsworth Conscription Bill must be defeated. It includes within its confusion and misleading verbiage the basis for American fascism." (10) (Four days before, the fascist paper SOCIAL JUSTICE took a different view of the bill: "The Burk-Wadsworth Conscription Bill is more than a conscription bill," wrote the paper on August 12th, 1940, "It is a Bill to abolish the Constitution of the U.S.A. That is why the Burke-Wadsworth Communistic Bill must be fought - now, or never.") Browder, the chairman of the U.S.A. Communist Party at that time went so far against the war as to say that "The New Roosevelt course is essentially for America the same direction which Hitler gave for Germany in 1933." (11) The party opposed Lend-Lease. It dropped the boycott of Nazi goods. It set up



the "American Peace Mobilization." The Communist pickets marched in front of the White House, denouncing Roosevelt's aid policy for isolated Britain. "The Yanks are not coming" demonstrations were organized throughout the U.S.A. When President Roosevelt at the beginning of the year 1941 sent Harry Hopkins to Britain to discuss matters of common interest, the CHICAGO TRIBUNE and the DAILY WORKER protested. DAILY WORKER linked the mission to the travels of Colonel House twenty-five years before. It declared editorially that House had pledged "American entrance into the first imperialistic war on the side of the Allies while Woodrow Wilson was assuring the American people that he would keep the country out of war. . . . The secret diplomacy involved in the Hopkins appointment can put the American people on the alert in insisting that no further aid be given to British imperialism, since such aid brings the shadow of war closer and closer to our homes." Less than seven months later when Hopkins went on a mission to Moscow the same DAILY WORKER declared editorially, "The sending of Mr. Hopkins on this mission, his statements and pledges will meet with the approval of the entire American people. . . The time is long overdue for the people to inform their Representatives and Senators to establish unity to defend the country and to defeat the

common enemy of mankind. . . . Any voices to prevent these steps from being taken are helping Hitler, or are agents of Hitler and Fifth Columnists in the country."(12) This time the CHICAGO TRIBUNE remained alone.

On Sunday night when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union the Communists picketed a Fight for Freedom rally at Harlem. The pickets demanded peace and were preparing a March on Washington. An hour and a half later the pickets disappeared. The news came that the USSR was invaded and within an hour and a half the Communist policy reversed itself. The next day the DAILY WORKER came out for war.(13) American Communists now added two words to their slogan which now read "The Yanks are not coming too late." The war was no longer an imperialist undertaking; conscription no longer contained basis for fascism; lend-lease won overnight a whole-hearted Communist support; President Roosevelt far from being an imperialist, became a progressive. (Inside the party's high command Roosevelt continued to be regarded as imperialist. William Foster in his "Marxism-Leninism vs. Revisionism," 1948, takes pride in saying as early as January, 1944, "A postwar Roosevelt administration would continue to be, as it is now, an imperialist government.")(14)

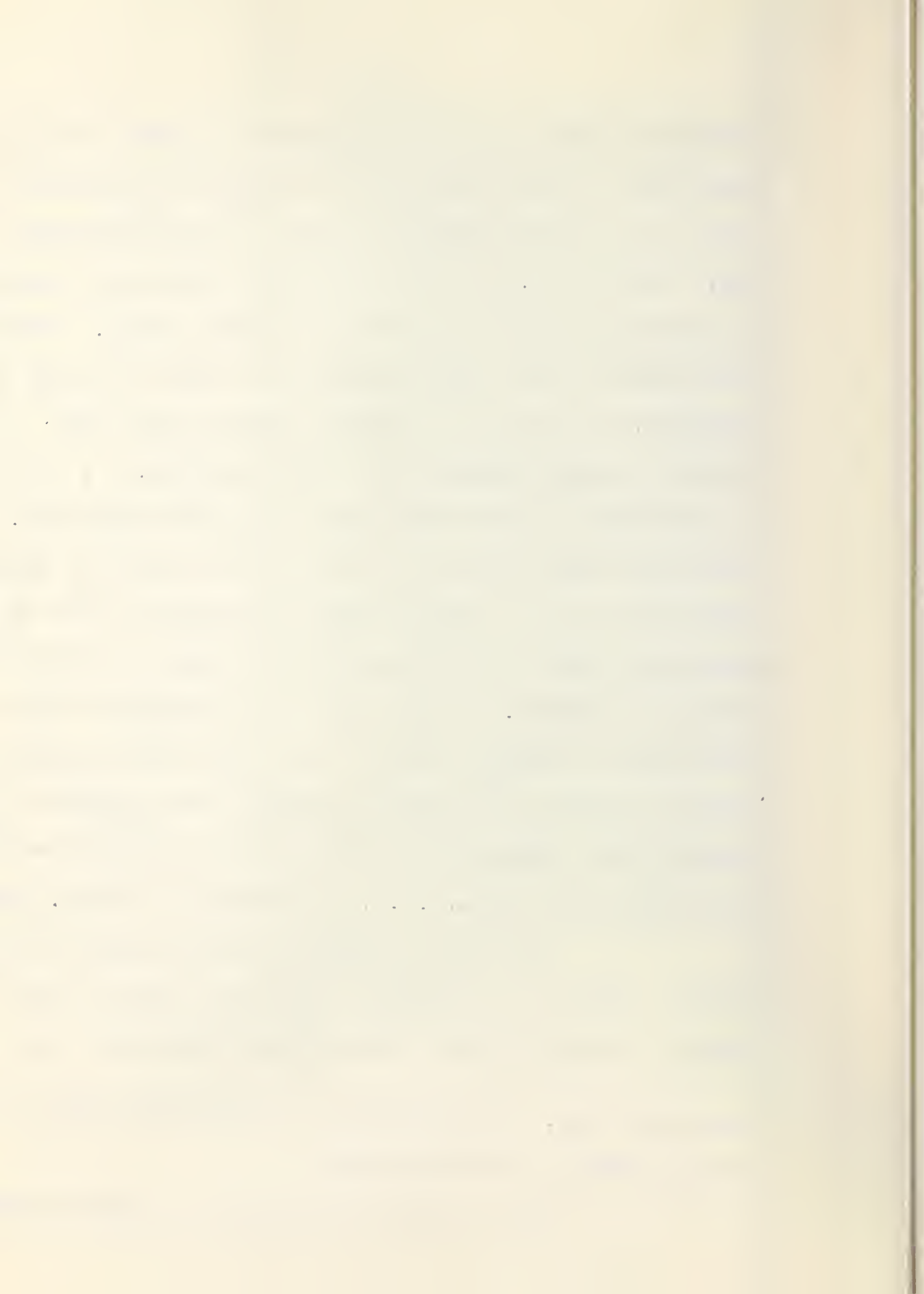
The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak

Communist Party in the declaration of December 15th, 1940, expressed a strong opposition to Hitler but referred to the U.S.A. as a "most dangerous factor in the development of war." The U.S.A. was "an imperialist colossus" speculating to become an heir to the broken British Empire. "Fearing the growth of the German imperialist power," was the party's judgment, the U.S.A. "is driving England into war, is using the war to gain hegemony over South America. . . is creating in the Pacific Ocean atmosphere of an inevitable war."

President Benes placed himself "in the service of English imperialism and is strengthening the morale of the disappointed ranks of his supporters by faith in the United States of America." A day after the invasion of the USSR the Central Committee called for a war of all nations against fascism and commended "America and England" for reaching the convictions "that the most dangerous enemy of all nations and races. . . . is hitlerite fascism."(15)

The French Communists did not mince words either. Among the documents that haunt them to this day is Thorez's denunciation of the genuine anti-nazi, the Socialist Blum. It appeared in the February, 1940, issue of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL:

"For a political canaille of Blum's complexion,



there is no uniform standard by which to measure what he said and did yesterday and he says and does to-day. Blum, like the repulsive reptile that he is, has given up twisting and hissing like a snake. Now he gives free reign to his savage instincts of a bourgeois exploiter who for a moment trembled for his privileges. He no longer tries to conceal the real content of his policy: protection of the interests of capital. Like a chained dog, he barks at the working class, the Soviet Union, and Communism."(16)

Mr. Blum's barking and trembling for privileges landed him in Nazi prison. Mr. Thorez spent the war years in Moscow.

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For more than twenty years this extraordinary spirit of world-wide comradeship had permeated world Communism and had led sometimes to absurd extremes. We are entitled to ask if the dissolution of the Comintern as announced by its Presidium wrought a significant change in the policies of its former affiliates and whether it was meant to be genuine.

In the Soviet schools the idea of a world-wide Communist movement has been fostered to this day. "The great vow of Stalin" repeatedly appears in the history textbooks. Five days after the death of Lenin, the creator of Bolshe-

vism, Stalin vowed fidelity to him and his cause in a speech at the Second Congress of Soviets. The vow, made on January 26th, 1924, appears in the ISTORIIA SSSR as follows:

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of holding high and preserving in its purity the great title of member of the Party. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill with honor this thy commandment!

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of preserving the unity of our Party, like the apple of the eye. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will with honor fulfill this thy commandment!. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of preserving and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our energies in also fulfilling with honor this thy commandment!. . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of strengthening with all our energies the union of workers and peasants. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfill with honor this thy commandment!. . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of strengthening and expanding the Union of

Republics. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfill with honor this thy commandment! . . .

"Lenin often pointed out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. Let us also swear, Comrades, that we will not spare our energies in strengthening our Red Army and our Red Navy.

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us fidelity to the principles of the Communist International. We swear to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives in strengthening and expanding the union of the toilers of the entire world - the Communist International." (17)

The textbook was edited by the well-known Soviet historian, Professor A. Pankratova, and is used as official textbook in the last grade of the Soviet high school. It enjoys monopoly for the grade. The vow, the Soviet children are told on Page 311, "has become the programme of action of the Party and the Soviet state, guaranteeing the victorious development of our country on the road to socialism."

The 1945 edition of the same volume of ISTORIYA gave a fairly full account of the dissolution of the Comintern. When it appeared, it was replaced in a few months by the new edition in which the entire account of

of the dissolution is gone. Also, Shura Chekalin, a Soviet partisan, who died a heroic but quiet death at the hands of the Germans in the 1945 edition, died singing the INTERNATIONALE in the new 1946 edition.(18)

After the war, Stalin's vow was made the basis for the film KLIATVA (Vow). The film stresses Lenin's commandments and shows how the "Words of Stalin's vow became a pledge for the fulfillment of all the hopes of the Soviet people and the ideological foundation of all our victories."(19) The film was awarded Stalin prize for 1947.

Documentary evidence on the subject of the Comintern was presented in the "Report of the Royal Commission"(20) on Soviet espionage published in Ottawa in 1946. In appendix D of the Report there appears a facsimile of the registration card for 1945 (the Comintern was disbanded in 1943) on Sam Carr which was kept in the dossier at the Soviet Embassy. Sam Carr was the national organizer of the Party implicated in the affair. The card is produced in the Report both in the Soviet original and in translation. (It also appears or is referred to in many other parts of the Report.) It contains the following entry, in Russian: "Detailed biographical information is available in the Centre in the Comintern." These words were not typed out till early in 1945.

It might be argued that the Comintern was abolished and only its records kept. The revelations made during the investigation in Canada, however, established that there is some organization in the Soviet capital which directs the activities of the Communist parties throughout the world, or at least that part of activity relating to espionage. Dr. Allan Nunn May, one of the leading British atomic scientists, confirmed the suspicion by confessing his guilt. As secondary evidence, a passage may be cited from Section II, 4, of the Report, containing discussion between Gouzenko and the Royal Commission's investigators:

Q: "The Comintern was supposed to have been abolished before 1945?"

G: "Supposed to be abolished in 1943; but it is not so."

Q: "It is not abolished?"

G: "That is right."

Q: "In 1945 Rogov typed or had typed the statement that they had Comintern records still available to refer to?"

G: "He knew very well the Comintern existed in Moscow."

Q: "Rogov knew the Comintern had not been

abolished and that all the records were complete there?"

G: "That is right."

Q: "It would have been possible - I am not saying that it is so - for the Comintern to have been abolished as an organization^{and} all the records still kept?"

G: "That is right, ~~and~~ all the personnel is still kept in M_oscow; it is just the name that is abolished."

Gouzenko came to Canada in 1943 and worked as code clerk at the Soviet Embassy. Prior to 1943 he was more than a year at the Moscow Center of the Soviet Military Intelligence organization where, he said, he enciphered and deciphered telegrams to and from many countries.

The Soviet note regarding the espionage admitted that some information was received. The following is part of the statement handed by Mr. Lozovski, the Soviet Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, to the Charge d'Affaires of the Canadian Embassy at Moscow, on February 21st, 1946:

". . . Soviet organizations have become aware that in the latter periods of the war certain members of the Staff of the Soviet Military attache in Canada received from Canadian nationals with whom they were acquainted, certain information of a secret character which did not, however, present great interest for the Soviet

organizations. It has transpired that this information referred to technical data of which Soviet organizations had no need in view of more advanced technical attainment in the USSR, the information in question could be found in published works on radio location, etc., and also in the well-known brochure of the American J.D. Smyth, ATOMIC ENERGY.

"It would, therefore, be ridiculous to affirm that delivery of insignificant secret data of this kind could create any threat to the security of Canada."(21)

The Royal Commission did not find the matter ridiculous at all. Neither did Dr. May who received ten years' imprisonment after he confessed that he turned over some highly secret material to the Soviet organizations. The Commission also found that no information in question could be obtained from Professor J.D. Smyth's brochure.

The Charge to the Jury, delivered by Harold R. Medina, U.S. District Court Judge, on October the 13th, 1949, at the trial of the Communist leaders had also something to contribute to the subject of the Comintern.(22) Judge Medina pointed out that "Government's exhibit No. 3, the Programme of the Comintern, was originally received against the defendant Stachel only. Thereafter, evidence was admitted that this programme was subject of teaching

in party school and was quoted from or referred to in one or two of the outlines distributed after April 1st, 1945."

The Comintern, it would seem, was not entirely forgotten.

The most decisive evidence to this effect is offered by Prime Minister Stalin who is the ultimate living authority on Communism. His currently published writings make it clear that the Communist International with all its articles of faith lives on; that it lives on though its form may be different and, to the outsider, unknown.

One of the basic theoretical works on Leninism (and Stalinism) is the ISTORIIA VSEGOIUZNOI KOMMUNISTICHESKOI PARTII which was published first in 1938 in Moscow. This book came out under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and was written under the supervision of Stalin. In Soviet journals it is referred to as Stalin's HISTORY-SHORT COURSE, and was being republished in its unchanged form as late as 1948. (No attempt was made to trace reprints after that date; this study is based on the 1945 printing). For all that time it has been used as a basic work in party schools, not only in the USSR but by the Communists all over the world. In Stalin's ISTORIIA the vow appears on Pages 256-7, without any qualifying remarks.

Stalin's vow to Lenin is published in O
LENINE (23) and is set off in bold capitals from the rest
of the text.

Since the current writings of I.V. Stalin are frequently referred to throughout this work, it should be explained that the character of Communist thought and political control makes it unlikely that any statement would appear or reappear, particularly one made by Prime Minister Stalin himself, which would be considered out of date or inconsistent with the existing ideology. In 1946, the first volume of Stalin's Collected Works came out. There in the preface, Stalin took pains to point out some errors in his youthful writings before the October Revolution.(24) Since then, eight volumes of his later works have been published till 1948 but without any more prefaces by Stalin. We are bound to conclude that those writings are correct. Similar care is exhibited by Stalin in a letter to Politburo in 1941 where he opposes republication of an obscure article by Engels unless its doctrinal errors are pointed out.(25)

As for Stalin's ISTORIYA its importance is enormous. By October, 1948 it was distributed in 34 million copies.(26) The theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee, BOLSHEVIK, on September 15th, 1948

devoted a fifteen-page editorial to the praise of ISTORIIA. The article abounds in extravagant superlatives. It says that in ISTORIIA there is "concentrated an enormous wealth of thought in the realm of theory and ideology, politics and organization", and claims that "millions of the Soviet people, millions of the toilers beyond the frontier study the book. . . ." The editorial asserts that ISTORIIA is "a great fountain of political experience and political wisdom upon which Communist parties the world over draw and will draw their guiding instructions." (27) On the last page of the article Lenin is approvingly quoted to the effect that "Bolshevism is an example of tactics for all." This, the editorial writer says, is being borne out by contemporary events.

ISTORIIA is acclaimed in the LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE edited by Andrei Vyshinsky. "History," we are informed on Page 48, "is a notable guide in the matter of education in the spirit of Bolshevism, in the spirit of the great ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. . . ." (28) One has to avoid the mistake of thinking that Stalin's ISTORIIA is a history in the ordinary meaning of the term.

A position similar to that of ISTORIIA is enjoyed in party schools by Stalin's OB OSNOVAKH LENINISMA (Foundations of Leninism) and OKTIABRSKAIA

REVOLUTSIIA I TAKTIKA RUSSKIKH KOMMUNISTOV (October Revolution and the Tactics of Russian Communists). The 1949 edition of the former and the 1948 edition of the latter work have been used for our purposes. Both works form a basis of another important work by Stalin, VOPROSY LENINISMA. Another work which occupies a prominent place in party literature is Stalin's K VOPROSAM LENINISMA (Questions of Leninism) of which the 1949 edition has been used here. Since nothing has so far been published to indicate that these works are in any way obsolete, we have to regard them as doctrinally correct.

The dictatorship of the proletariat with all the necessary preliminaries and aftermaths was one of the main themes of the Comintern. It continues to be so in all the currently published writings of Prime Minister Stalin. The attitude of Communism toward parliamentary government has not undergone a change. Sometimes, however, the innocent are confused. Do not the Communists today stand in the forefront of battles for higher wages and better housing? Are they not in favor of land distribution and medical care? Do the American Communists not declare in their Constitution that their party defends "the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights?" Do the Communists not espouse reforms that every enlightened person

will favor? Should they not have our sympathies for that reason? Prime Minister Stalin, however, has a different, more convincing explanation for their actions. To him, ". . . in revolutionary tactics under a bourgeois regime, reform is naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating this regime, an instrument for strengthening revolution. . . . The revolutionary accepts reform in order to use it as a means of combining the legal work with the illegal work, in order to use it as a cover to strengthen the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."(29)

Stalin's program remains world revolution and the dictatorship of the Communist party. His immediate aim is "the consolidating of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution spreads beyond the boundaries of one country, the epoch of world revolution has begun. The main forces of the revolution: dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, and the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries!"(30)

Hence the Soviet Union inevitably continues to play the same role in world Communism it played till 1943 when the Comintern according to its Presidium was dissolved. In the recently republished OKTIABRSKAIA REVOLUTSIIA I

TAKTIKA RUSSKIKH KOMMUNISTOV (The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists) Stalin remarks that "the development of world revolution will be the more rapid and thorough, the more effective the aid rendered by the first socialist country to the working and toiling masses of all countries".(31)

In what way should this aid be expressed? Here, Stalin's answer is very clear, very eloquent and very uncompromising. One of the forms of the aid should be that ". . . the 'victorious proletariat' of the one country. . . 'after organizing its own socialist production should stand up. . . against the remaining capitalist world, attracting to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their governments.'" (32)

Although the Stalinists claim they do not idealize violence they hold that the overthrow of capitalism is IMPOSSIBLE without a violent revolution. This, according to them, is inherent in historical development. The bourgeoisie will defend its position against the dictatorship of the Communist party by violence and the Communists will answer by violence. These are the inexorable laws of history. The Communists, unlike their less

fortunate fellow men, can "foresee the course of events" and know^{not only} "in what direction the events are developing in the present, but also how and in what direction they must develop in the future." (33) Hence the Communists know not only how they themselves will behave when revolution comes, but also how their opponents will behave though the opponents themselves may not know what their behavior will be. The Communists know that the bourgeoisie will not peacefully surrender its property and the necessity of violent revolution, as we saw above, must be "systematically and persistently propagated" among the masses. Any suggestion within the ranks of the Communist high command that the transition from capitalism to Communism might be peaceful is treated as an un-Bolshevik, counter revolutionary offence. Marx at one time himself suggested that Britain and the United States and Holland might just possibly prove an exception to the general rule of the inevitability of violent revolution. Such speculation, Stalin says, in his FOUNDATION OF LENINISM, was perfectly justified in Marx's time. Since, then, however, Britain and the U.S.A. have become militaristic and bureaucratic and hope for a peaceful transition could no longer be entertained. "Special conditions for a peaceful development in England and America passed away," Stalin observed, and

"the law of the violent proletarian revolution, the law of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine as a preliminary condition to this revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement of the imperialist countries of the world." Only when Stalinism has replaced capitalism in the majority of countries peaceful transition might be possible. But that, according to Stalin, "concerns only a remote and possible future. For the near future such hypothesis has no, positively no foundations."(34)

Using the philosophy of I.V. Stalin as a basis, Vyshinsky's LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE is equally explicit about the question of revolution. "The violent seizure of authority by the proletariat, the demolition of the exploiting society's machinery of state, and the organization of a new state is the most important thesis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of proletarian revolution."(35) All these suggestions, it should be kept in mind, are made in works which have been used for mass instruction purposes down to the present time.

With the USSR being a focus of world revolution, the possibility of a peaceful co-existence between the Soviet and non-Soviet world is not very strong. It is true that Prime Minister Stalin has at a number of interviews destined for foreign audiences stated that he

believed the peaceful co-existence was a definite possibility. But his own insistence on the flexibility of tactics(36) would seem to explain such utterances. It was Prime Minister Stalin himself who at the XV Congress of the Party stated the issue in the following terms:

"We cannot forget the saying of Lenin to the effect that a great deal in the matter of our construction depends on whether we succeed in delaying war with the capitalist countries, which is inevitable, but which may be delayed either until proletarian revolution ripens in Europe, or until the colonial revolutions come fully to a head, or, finally, until the capitalists fight among themselves over the division of the colonies. Therefore, the maintenance of peaceful relations with capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us.

The basis of our relations with capitalist countries consists in admitting the co-existence of two opposed systems."(37)

It is thus a firmly held part of the political philosophy of Stalinism that another terrible war will follow before the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat can be realized. Stalin himself holds this view absolutely and without reservation. Quoting Lenin to prove his case he writes in K VOPROSAM LENINISMA, "We live. . . not merely in

a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic, side by side with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. In the end either one or the other will win. And before that end comes, a series of most frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable." To this Stalin appends, "Clear, one would think." (This did not bar Mr. Vyshinsky from reproaching on September 18th, 1947, in the UN General Assembly the capitalist warmongers that "They stubbornly preach that a new war is inevitable.") (39)

The similarity between the political philosophy of the Comintern and that of Prime Minister Stalin could not be called accidental. Indeed, Stalin himself was very active in the Communist International. If we are to believe the words of D.M. Manuilsky, now Ukrainian representative to the UN, then "not one important document of big international significance was issued by the Communist International without the most active participation of Comrade Stalin in its composition." (40)

If the question should be put as to how far the Communist parties of the world are integrated with the Soviet Communist party today, the answer would not be difficult to find:

"It should not be forgotten that - although

the Comintern does not exist - all Communist parties in the world form one single Communist front, under the direction of the most powerful and most experienced Communist Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin; and that all Communist parties have one leader and teacher recognized by all - Comrade Stalin."

None of the Soviet-hating Hearst publications wrote the above words, as the superficial examination might lead one to think. Nor did TIME magazine. It was the late veteran Communist Georgi Dimitrov who made the revelation which was published on the pages of the official organ of the Bulgarian Workers (Communist) party, RABOTNICHESKO DELO, on December 18th, 1948. (41)

Mr. Dimitrov, we note, is no novice to Communism. From 1935 till its dissolution, he was the all-powerful secretary of the Communist International. In 1934 he acquired Soviet citizenship and later became Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. In 1945, released from the Soviet citizenship, he returned to Bulgaria and guided its policies as secretary-general of the Bulgarian Workers party, as chairman of the party's Politburo and later as Prime Minister of Bulgaria, till his death.

From all the evidence presented in this chapter, one thing emerges with a fairly strong probability;

that the spirit and policy, if not the old organization, of the Comintern lives on. Whether or not the recently established Cominform carries the banner is entirely irrelevant to this discussion. By many the Cominform was held to be an heir to the Comintern. This view is not adequately supported by evidence. We must remember that the Cominform comprises only nine Communist Parties. The Communist parties of many other countries, notably of Great Britain, Canada, U.S.A., Germany, are missing from its membership. So are the Scandinavian Communist parties and those of Latin America. Thus, the Cominform represents only a part of the World Communist force. The spokesmen of Communism never tire of saying that the U.S.A., as the strongest imperialist country today, constitutes the gravest danger to the people's democracies. Therefore, the U.S.A. remains the main target of World Communism and the absence of the American Communist party from any international Communist body would considerably lessen its value. Such body is not likely to be chosen as successor to the Third International. The most plausible interpretation of the Cominform may be disappointing to the headline-minded individuals: the Cominform appears to be merely a convenient meeting place for the strongest Communist parties in Europe.

At times it might seem that Soviet Communism is abandoning its orthodoxy; that its values have changed; that its desire for peace is genuine; that it no longer believes that the minds of men can be conditioned to a fuller and freer life by a dictatorship. We will always stand ready to believe its good intentions. But the burden of proof must lie with those who would maintain that the new statement represents a permanent change in thought and not merely a tactical retreat.

The importance of this was recently emphasized by Hector McNeil, in the Political and Security Committee of the UN General Assembly, on November 16th, 1949. In a careful analysis of the Soviet policies he reminded the Political Committee of what a member of the Soviet military administration in Berlin, on May 30th, 1948, said in a lecture on "Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics":

"The ultimate aim of Communism - world revolution - remains unchanged; only the means. . . change from time to time. . . the decisive fact is correct timing. When the enemy is stronger, it is no use kicking. . . The time to attack an enemy and to destroy him is when his forces, after an interval, have begun to disintegrate." (42)

This, Mr. McNeil added, echoed Stalin's PROBLEMS OF LENINISM. We may add, it also echoed the sentiments of the

late Georgi Dimitrov as expressed during his secretaryship in the Comintern:

"We are sometimes accused of departing from our Communist principles. What stupidity, what blindness! We should not be Marxist or Leninist revolutionaries, nor disciples of Marx, Engels and Stalin, if we were not capable of completely altering our tactics and our mode of action as circumstances dictate. But all the deviations and all the ins and outs of our tactics are directed to a single end - the world revolution."(43)

II. Dictatorship of the Proletarian Elite.

World Communism holds fast to that unusual conception of government @ the dictatorship of the proletarian elite. The idea derives originally from Marx who believed that the proletariat as a result of increasing contradictions under capitalism will become fully class-conscious, united and will eventually overthrow the existing social institutions. At the hands of Lenin the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat assumed a definitely authoritarian character. Lenin concluded that the most to which the proletariat was able to attain was trade-union consciousness, not class-consciousness. It is up to a well-organized and disciplined minority, a partly of the elect, led by the progressive intelligentsia, to perform and uphold the revolution. With Lenin the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes compatible with the dictatorship of one person:

"The Soviet Socialist Democracy is in no way inconsistent with the rule and dictatorship of one person: that the will of a class is at times best realized by a dictator who sometimes will accomplish more by himself and is frequently more needed. . ."(1) Small wonder then that of all the giants of the Russian workingmen's revolution, Lenin, Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Kameniev, Stalin, Trotsky, Smilga

Bukharin and Dzershinsky, not one was a workingman. Stalin took over Lenin's concept of dictatorship without substantially modifying it.

The March-April, 1949, issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE, a Marxist scientific periodical of the Hungarian Workers (Communist) party, published a very illuminating discussion on the subject of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the light of the post-war experience. Its author Jozsef Revai, the leading Hungarian Communist and Minister of People's Culture in the Hungarian Government. The article was a reprint of the speech delivered by Revai to the Hungarian party leaders. It bears the title ON THE CHARACTER OF OUR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY and includes many facts which friends of Communism in our countries have frequently denied. The copies of the magazine in which the article appeared were later recalled by the Hungarian People's Government.(2)

Before lending our ear to Mr. Revai's analysis a few introductory remarks are in order. In February, 1945, on the Black Sea shores at Yalta the Big Three signed an agreement outlining the policies to be followed in the liberated areas. In Section II of the Yalta agreement, in the so-called "Declaration of Liberated Europe," the Big Three jointly declared to assist "the peoples liberated

from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems." The Big Three also expressed their adherence to the "... principle of the Atlantic Charter - the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live - the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations."(3)

On February 10, 1947, the Hungarian peace treaty was signed in Paris. Part 2 of the treaty is relevant to our discussion. It contains political clauses, and Article 2, point one, binds Hungary to "take all measures necessary to secure all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction. . . the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion and of public meeting."(4)

On March 6, 1947, a US note was released to press in which the US Government reminded the USSR of the Yalta declaration and complained of "the efforts of a small group in Hungary to substitute a minority dictatorship for a responsible administration representative of the will of the Hungarian people. . . ." The note also pointed

out that "police and administrative authorities responsive to the dictates of these minority elements have utilized their power of investigation of the conspiracy. . . to conduct a general campaign against their political opponents."(5) In his reply on March 8, Lt. General V.P. Sviridov, Soviet Acting Chairman of the Allied Control Commission expressed the opinion that there was "no basis for the accusation that they (minority parties) strive. . . to establish a dictatorship of the minority, because they stand on the basis of the Hungarian Constitution."(6) The US representative later repeated the charge that the investigation of alleged plots was conducted "only by Communist-dominated police organs." It again seemed to him "that minority groups under the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party are attempting to seize power through resort to extra-constitutional tactics."(7) On June 11 another similar note was sent and rejected by the Soviet Acting Chairman on June 14. He maintained that "the assertion. . . of establishment of some kind of control over Hungary by some minority appears to be an unfounded fiction."(8)

Two years later came the article by Revai.(9) The fiction turned out to be no fiction at all. Revai opens the discussion by stressing the importance of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat and speculates why so little attention was paid to the problem of late. He ventures to suggest the reason: "It is obvious that the statement 'the People's Democracy is a specimen of the dictatorship of the proletariat' is not an announcement to make a great fuss about. But if we don't have to make a great fuss about, we do not need to hide it, to deal with it in secrecy. And the decisive factor is the necessity to make known INSIDE THE PARTY(*italics added*) the importance of this statement," After a few introductory remarks he takes the plunge. According to him ". . . as regards the fundamental questions of the transformation into Socialism, the Soviet Union is our model" and "the way of the People's Democracies differs ONLY IN CERTAIN EXTERNAL FORMS AND NOT IN ESSENCE, FROM THE WAY OF THE SOVIET UNION." (*Italics added.*) Since these are the words of the Hungarian party theoretician we cannot doubt their significance.

In evaluating the utterance we have constantly to bear in mind the wording of the Hungarian peace treaty, the relevant passages of which were cited above. It will be remembered that neither the peace treaty nor the Yalta declaration envisage the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of government for Hungary. Both the spirit and the letter of those agreements affirm that the government

should be chosen by all people and that the fundamental freedoms should be accorded to everyone.

Stalin makes clear the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in his FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses."(10) Though Stalin holds such opinion of government, which is the subject of teaching at party schools all over the world, he did not hesitate to become signatory to the Hungarian treaty which provides that "Hungary shall take all measures. . . to secure all persons. . . the fundamental freedoms, including freedom. . . of political opinion. . ."

While Stalin is signatory to the Yalta agreement which pledges him to enable the liberated peoples "to create democratic institutions of their own choice" and to form a popular elected government, he is on record as holding that the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat "has meaning only when one class knows that it alone takes political power into its own hands, and does not deceive itself and others by talk about 'popular, elected government, sanctified by the whole people.'"(11) The contradiction, however, is more apparent than real. Stalinist thesis on

tactics and strategy to which reference was made in the previous chapter bridges the gap and supplies the key.

Mr. Revai himself has recourse to Lenin and Stalin to prove his case. He remarks that "According to Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat means that that class 'does not and cannot exercise power together with other classes. . .'" "Furthermore, Stalin adds", continues Revai in his brilliant analysis," that 'the leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat is but one party, the party of the proletariat, the Communist party, which does not and cannot share leadership with ⁷another parties.'" Two years before, American accusations that the Hungarian Communist party was trying to establish a dictatorship appeared to the Soviet representative "to be an unfounded fiction."

Having cited Stalin on the impossibility of the Communist party sharing power with other parties, Mr. Revai goes on to ask: "Is this valid for us? With us there are not only Communists in the Government, but also Smallholders and Peasant party members. . . Does this coalition. . . mean that we exercise leadership together with them..?" Stalin who provides answer for every political problem does not leave Revai in doubt for very long. Revai quotes Stalin again on his experience with the October revolution where first "the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat

and the poor peasantry" was put forward; this was achieved but later "the full leadership fell into the hands of one single party - ours - which does not and cannot share the leadership of the state with other parties." Evidently, Mr. Revai even after being so explicit has still some fears that his words might not be sufficiently well grasped. So he addresses his comrades, "Formally, with us there are elements of the division of power and leadership. But in fact, Comrades, it is the working class which alone is in power, in fact it is OUR PARTY ALONE WHICH RUNS THE STATE MACHINE." (*Italics added.*) This is what non-Communist newspapermen and political observers have been saying for more than two years and what the Communist statesmen have for two years denied. The above diplomatic notes illustrate this point. Warm friends of Communism in America have been pointing to the existence of non-Communist parties in the Hungarian and other Eastern European governments to show how the Communist parties shared leadership with other parties. Some well-meaning individuals whose knowledge of Stalinism never went beyond some of its creditable features such as opposition to racial discrimination or absence of unemployment were also confused. No more confusion is necessary on this point after Mr. Revai took such trouble to make the nature of the Hungarian govern-

ment explicit. In this sense Mr. Revai's article is very revealing. However, it contains little that is new. It contains nothing that could not be inferred from Stalin's political writings as currently published and currently taught to children and adults in countries where Communism has become an accepted (or enforced) way of life. The article is merely a most r e c e n t though not n e w contribution to our knowledge of the policies and practices of Stalinism.

The violation of treaties on the part of the Hungarian government is obvious. Neither the Yalta agreement nor the peace treaty nor, for that matter, the UN Charter advise that one party alone should run the state machine. Nor did those agreements envisage the following situation of which Revai speaks in his article: "Dictatorship also means the exercising of force in oppressing enemies. . . in fighting this class enemy, those organs destined to apply this force must be rendered more effective. . . than they are. . ." When the US representative expressed concern over police authorities in Hungary using their powers "to conduct a general campaign against their political opponents" and over investigations conducted "by Communist-dominated police organs", and when those charges were denied by the Soviet representative, the American

representative may not have thought that his words would be echoed by a leading Communist theoretician less than two years later. In Mr. Revai's own words, "We were a minority in Parliament and in the Government, but at the same time we represented the leading force. We had the decisive control over the police forces. Our force, the force of our Party and the working class, was multiplied by the fact that the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Army, were always there to support us with their assistance."

Few people in Hungary could have spoken with greater authority than Revai. Besides being Minister of People's Culture he has been a party member for years. He edited party newspapers during the short-lived Hungarian Communist regime of Bela Kun in 1919. He spent many years in Moscow since that time. He returned to Hungary from the USSR in 1945. He is a member of the Directorate of the Party and editor of Szabad Nep, central organ of the Hungarian Workers Party. The above words of his, spoken not for the foreign audience but destined for the party-conditioned ears, must be taken with the seriousness which they deserve.

It might be asked why even within the party the question of the dictatorship was so rarely mentioned. For that Mr. Revai has also a plausible explanation. One given

above is that it was not anything "to make a great fuss about." Elsewhere Revai observes wisely that "the fact that the power is exclusively possessed by the working class is not to be chattered about everywhere. . . ." There is another convincing reason; "Our People's Democracy," says Revai, "has not been from the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat, but became so during the struggle. . . ." Revai explains that this fact "is treated also in our Party platform, in spite of the fact that the platform does not mention the dictatorship of the proletariat." Another reason yet occurs to Revai: many people were temporarily won over to the Communist cause who would otherwise have been against it. Pondering on such methods the Hungarian Party theoretician says with obvious satisfaction: "It was correct not to show our cards." This task of hiding the cards was performed with so much perfection that even some Communists mistook tactics for policy. That at least would appear from Revai's reference to the mistake which was committed when "we said that the dictatorship of the proletariat meant the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, while within the People's Democracy it was superfluous. . . ."

Thus the policies of the Hungarian Government emerge with disturbing clarity; more disturbing if we note

that Revai speaks of the "way of the People's Democracies" differing "only in certain external forms and not in essence, from the way of the Soviet Union." This is an unmistakable reference to all post-war Communist governments. It may also be regarded as a reference to all future countries where the Communist party might find itself charged with the responsibilities of government. The Peoples Democracy is the new objective to be followed wherever the possibility opens itself. This idea is fostered so much that even the Cominform organ bears the title FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

Mr. Revai's voice, however, was not the only one in the wilderness. It was no fault of the Communists that their designs were not known in the non-Communist countries. On January 23, 1949, the NEW YORK TIMES (p.2) reprinted Rakosi's speech as it appeared in the Austrian Communist organ VOLKSSTIMME. The speech had a similar tone to that of Revai: "A People's Democracy" declared Rakosi, "is according to its function, a dictatorship of the proletariat without the Soviet form. What does it mean when power is taken into the hands of the working class in a democratic republic? Is that also dictatorship? To this there is only one answer, yes, unconditionally." This is an obvious conclusion from the premise that a bourgeois

system of government is a bourgeois dictatorship and so the Communist dictatorship must be used to suppress it.

Similar statement was made recently by Boleslav Bierut of Poland. Georgi Dimitrov, too, did not hesitate to say to the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Sofia, in December 1948, that the People's Democracy was "the dictatorship of the proletariat in a new form." (12)

Though Chinese Communism is subject of much speculation and controversy, Mao Tse-Tung so far has spoken the language of his European colleagues. He made no secret of the fact that "The Communist party of China is a party built on the example of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolshevicks) and is developing on the same lines." (13) Less than a year later, on July 1, 1949, Mao Tse-Tung still could claim that "we ally ourselves with the USSR, the new democratic nations and the proletariat and great masses of the other countries for the formation of an international united front." He still was firm in his conviction that Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism was the political philosophy of his party. What that implies we made an effort to show. As Mao Tse-Tung put, ^{it} "Soviet Union is our best teacher." (14)

Now was Czechoslovakia to be spared the painful experience of developing along the Soviet lines. In

September 1946, Klement Gottwald declared that "Experience and the classical Marxist-Leninist teachings show that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the setting up of Soviets is not the only way leading to Socialism. Under certain conditions it can be achieved in a different manner."(15) Seventeen months later Mr. Zapotocky, No. 2 Communist in Czechoslovakia struck a different note. On February 15, 1948, he proclaimed: "Away with Parliament if it will not fulfill the program of the General Confederation of Labor."(16) On February 22, during the Czechoslovak crisis, Mr. Gottwald issued a call to his followers to set up action committees (Soviets). Two days later the Minister of Interior gave to the Soviets supreme authority over the people of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk's homeland was safe for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The developments in Eastern Europe inevitably set the pattern for every other Communist party in the world. It can scarcely be otherwise. Stalin, in his PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, made it clear: "Some comrades believe that this theory (dictatorship of the proletariat) is a purely 'Russian' theory, applicable only to Russian conditions. That is wrong. . . In speaking of the laboring masses of the non-proletarian classes which are led by the proletariat, Lenin has in mind not only Russian

peasants, but also the laboring elements of the border regions of the Soviet Union, which until recently were colonies of Russia. . . . From this follows that Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a purely 'Russian' theory, but a theory which applies to all countries. Bolshevism is not only a Russian phenomenon. 'Bolshevism,' says Lenin, 'is a model of tactics for all all.'"(17)

After the war there was much confusion and some loose thinking even in the Communist ranks. Many comrades became convinced that their own national parties would run their own independent course, in obvious disregard of Stalinism. Mr. Gottwald may genuinely have been one of them. For these deviationists the September 15, 1948, issue of Bolshevik, the "theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party", carried a sharp reminder: "The assertion that every country travels toward Socialism along its own and entirely original path, and that there are as many paths toward Socialism as there are countries, is incorrect. To speak thus is to deny the international significance of the experience of Bolshevism. The general laws of transition from capitalism to Socialism, revealed by Marx and Engels, tested, applied, and developed by Lenin and Stalin on the

basis of the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, are obligatory for all countries."(18)

In the light of this knowledge it will be of interest to note how the eleven American Communists defended themselves when tried under the Smith Act in 1949. Judge Medina in his CHARGE TO THE JURY summarized their argument as follows: ". . . the defendants contend. . . that the transition to Socialism has occurred and will occur in different ways, based upon unique situations at a given time and place. . . The notion that the October revolution of 1917 in Russia can be used as a blueprint for any changes in the American political or social system, the defendants assert, is in flat contradiction of their teachings to the contrary."(19)

Apparently the American Communist leaders were deviating.

III. History in the Making.

Stalinism holds that individual liberty can be achieved only where capitalist exploitation has been abolished. It contends that our liberty is liberty for the rich because they alone control the media of mass communications through which they influence popular judgment, and the means of production and distribution. The non-capitalists, The Stalinists claim, have the undesirable liberty to be unemployed and insecure. Consequently Stalinism proposes to introduce a social order where at the beginning liberty (i.e. bourgeois liberty) and economic insecurity will both be absent. This state of things would at some unspecified date and in some unspecified way later crystallize into an order where liberty would become a genuine right of all because it would not be conditioned on the economic privileges of some. Hence, Professor Schuman who is a warm friend of the Soviet Union could claim without exaggeration that some freedoms (freedom of speech being one of them) regarded as fundamental elsewhere are "purely coincidental" in the Soviet Union.(1)

Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, of the press etc., but insures it by "placing at the disposal of the working people and their organisations printing presses, stocks of paper,

public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights." Since the working people is the class which personifies the dictatorship of the proletariat, liberty of speech is endowed with a widely different meaning from what we would understand by it. The limitations imposed upon liberty in the USSR have been frequently discussed and disputed. The LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE, a work edited by Andrei Vyshinsky in 1938 but only recently made accessible to the English readers under the Russian Translation Project of the American Council of Learned Societies, provides excellent information on the issue of liberty in the USSR. (This book has since 1938 been used as compulsory reading matter for the Soviet students of Constitutional Law,

According to the writers the "Soviet law stands on guard for the Soviet press. The law, Concerning the Chief Administration for Literature and Publication (June 6, 1931) provides for political-ideological control of production of the press and obligates the Administration. . . . 'to prohibit the issuance, publication and circulation of productions: (a) containing agitation and propaganda against Soviet authority and the proletarian dictatorship. .'. . ."(2) The writers recognize the fact that "Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings.

. . . being natural and indispensable conditions precedent to the manifestation of freedom of thought and freedom of opinion, are among most important political freedoms. No society can be called democratic which does not afford its citizens all of them." But, it is further explained, "In our state, naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press and so forth for the foes of Socialism. Every sort of attempt on their part to utilize to the detriment of the state - that is to say to the detriment of all the toilers - these freedoms granted to the toilers must be classified as counterrevolutionary crime to which Article 58, Paragraph 10, or one of the corresponding articles of the Criminal Code is applicable." Also, "The RSFSR Criminal Code (Articles 182, 185) prosecutes those who violate Soviet legislation concerning the press."

These provisions narrow down considerably the scope of discussion and dissent in the USSR. It has been repeatedly maintained by friendly observers of Communism that although the communications channels are government-controlled, it is no obstacle to honest presentation of events. It is obvious that where only one agency controlling communications exists the responsibility of that agency is enormous. It is believed in bourgeois

countries that since truth, particularly in philosophy, politics, ethics and religion cannot be absolutely established that there should be as few restrictions on discussion as possible. This view is largely the result of our admission of being fallible human beings. That is why in the USA the Hearst publications are permitted to circulate alongside the publications of the American Communist party. We also believe that since many newspapers and books may, and indeed do, falsify events, correctives must be left free to operate in the form of newspapers and books which bring different interpretations. An entirely different situation exists in the Soviet Union. There the claims for government controlled communications stand and fall with their informative value. This and the following chapter will attempt an analysis of some features of the Soviet media of mass communication.

During the Second World War the Soviet Union and the Allies accomplished as close a cooperation as they had ever done before. It was for the first time in that period that the militant anti-capitalist Soviet propaganda was slackened. The USA and Britain were being represented as Allies united with the Soviet Union against Nazism. Some cultural activities honoring Western artists took place in the USSR indicating the spirit of the times. For a time

history textbooks showed good-will toward the Allies.

Even at this height of friendship, however, the reporting about the participation of the Allies was far below what the importance of events would warrant. Only in the first anxious months before the German armies were repelled at Moscow, Allied aid was reported in such a way as to impress the Soviet readers. It was only during these months that the British bombing of Germany and Anglo-American war production news were reported not only on the foreign page but also on the front page. From the summer of 1942 the official attitude of the Soviet press was beginning to change. That was the time when talks about launching the second front took a definite shape, and when suspicions, due partly to genuine anxiety, arose and were fostered that the Allies were deliberately sabotaging the second front. There were bitter statements and broadcasts telling the Soviet people that the USSR alone was doing its full share. MOSCOW NEWS declared on September 22, 1942, that British and American armies were "mere bystanders" while the war was being decided at Stalingrad.(3) News about the allied aid was disappearing from the Soviet papers despite the fact that Roosevelt ordered top priority for Russian lend-lease shipments as Ambassador Harriman revealed on November 19, 1942.(4) This attitude went so far as to evoke a response

from the American Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Standley. He charged on March 8, 1943, that the Soviet people were not given enough information about the American aid. On the following day, Sumner Wells, apparently anxious not to offend the Soviet Government, disclaimed in Washington US Government's responsibility for the charge. The charge, however, was effective because on the same day Moscow radio broadcast full statement on US shipments to the Soviet Union.(5) But the main trend continued. Though the major undeniable successes of the Allies were acknowledged, the tendency to depreciate was apparent. Surrender of Italy was reported in RED STAR on its back page under a small headline "Italy capitulates." Space devoted to it was about one column. RED STAR was the army newspaper from which the fighting forces obtained their information. Fall of Paris was reported in the same paper in a four inch paragraph under a small headline "French Forces of the Interior Have Liberated Paris."(6) No indication, that the British or American troops had anything to do with the affair! Allied bombing toward the end of the war and its devastating psychological effects upon the German population received similar treatment at the hands of the Soviet editors. American crossing of the Rhine was reported by RED STAR in a six line paragraph.(7) The only attention paid to the

atomic bomb was a brief news item on the Hiroshima raid without comment. Any suggestion that the bomb might have been instrumental in bringing about the Japanese surrender was deleted by the Soviet censors from the reports of foreign correspondents in Moscow.(8) The idea was being built in the minds of the Soviet people that the USSR fought virtually single-handed.

A person friendly disposed to the USSR might object that this dissecting of news is unfair; that the omissions or disproportionate emphases were not done on purpose; that there was no intention on the part of the Soviet leaders to depreciate the war contribution of the Allies. Such objection is quite justified but unfortunately subsequent events tend to show that the treatment of war news was intentional. After the war the Soviet claims to leadership reached unprecedented proportions. While during the war moderation was exercised, the Soviet attitude now was free from any restraint. A notable example of this was a speech by no less a man than the powerful Andrei Zhdanov, the late member of the Politburo. The speech was delivered in September 1947 at a conference in Poland, over the cradle of the Cominform. It dealt with ^{the} international situation and can safely be taken to voice the opinion of the top Communist leadership. Zhdanov claimed among other

things that "since America entered the war practically IN ITS CONCLUDING STAGE (*italics added*), when the issue was already decided, her human casualties were relatively small."(9) This is a breath-taking claim indeed. It was printed and circulated throughout the USSR and since the Communist elite controlled the printing presses of the nation no voice of dissent was raised. Mr. Zhdanov certainly has a perfect right to make such statement. He is not the only one who exaggerates. The tendency to exaggerate and distort is not limited to any single group of people and in America someone could conceivably claim that the USA won the war almost single-handed and that the USSR would certainly have lost if it had not been for lend-lease. In America, however, this opinion would not be the only opinion allowed. The responsible scholars would scarcely permit such assertions to pass unnoticed or unopposed. No only the DAILY WORKER which is being air-speeded every day to the subscribers all over America but also liberal and left-wing magazines, in addition to scientific and historical journals would unite in registering their protests. In the USSR human fallibility and human malice are not allowed for in delimiting the freedom of opinion; there, as noted above, one agency controls the media of information and its responsibility is

much greater than that of any agency outside the USSR. .And yet, no opinion outside of that expressed by Zhdanov was heard, though the historical misrepresentation is obvious. In the whole long address the role played by the Allies in the Pacific war is left out of the account. So is the fact that for two years, while the USSR was delivering raw materials to Germany in discharge of its treaty obligations Britain held on against the raids of the German airforce, all by herself. In making the Soviet Union responsible for the defeat of Fascism, Mr. Zhdanov also did not point out that Great Britain opposed Germany without herself being attacked while the Soviet Union waged war only after it had been attacked.

The Soviet Union is now being universally represented as the sole force which delivered the world from the Nazi and Japanese imperialism. If this is not the case, then what other meaning can be attached to the following description from Pankratova's ISTORIIA SSSR, Vol. III, 1946: "The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War called for the admiration of all progressive mankind. The entire world acknowledged the great service of the Red Army which, through its heroic, self-sacrificing struggle, rescued civilisation from the German-fascist barbarians and from the Japanese imperialists.

The Red Army appeared before the world as any army of liberation and the Soviet Union as the saviour of civilisation and progress in Europe and throughout the earth."(10) The Soviet Union, it will be remembered, joined the pacific war less than four weeks before the surrender documents were signed aboard Missouri.

Speaking about the history textbooks it should be noted that education (which in the USSR sometimes covers publishing, film industry, drama, literature, recreation schools, etc.) in the USSR is different from what it is understood to be in the Non-Soviet countries. Prime Minister Stalin stated to H.G. Wells in an interview in 1934 that ". . . Education is a weapon, whose effect depends upon who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed. . . ." (11) The Soviet sources specify that "the work of the school is carried on by specially trained people who are guided by the state," and that "all teaching plans and programs, approved by the Ministry of Education, are obligatory state documents. Every teacher and school director is responsible for their execution. . . . Compulsory uniformity of programs is one of the most valuable condition for the improvement of schoolwork in our country."(12) A very recent authoritative word on the subject came on October 24, 1947, from A. G. Kalashnikov, Minister of

Education of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. In an address delivered under the auspices of the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, he revealed that "Throughout the entire course of its history Soviet Education, both in its ideological content and in its methods and organisation, has been determined by the politics of the Communist Party." (13)

Thus the possibility that the contents of the Soviet textbooks would express ideas and whims of a single educator is excluded. The text of the books must be taken as "determined by the politics of the Communist party." There is a great deal of evidence that Mr. Kalashikov's statement is well founded. The Soviet attitude to the second front will help us illustrate his point.

In 1943, Professor A. Pankratova, a Soviet woman historian who has for many years edited secondary school texts, published an article containing a very favourable interpretation of British and American history. The article was to serve as a guide for the teachers of history. It stressed the community of interests between Russia and the USA. It called attention to the struggle against slavery in America as coinciding with the emancipation of the serfs under Alexander II in Russia.

England and America were called "freedom-loving, democratic countries,. . . fighting together with the USSR for freedom and democracy against Hitlerite barbarism. . ."(14) Toward the end of the war the new textbooks reflected with moderation the new viewpoint. Early in 1945, an edition of Pankratova's ISTORIIA appeared which was friendly throughout toward the Allies. Although their contribution to the war received relatively little attention, the book went so far as to quote Stalin's full appraisal of the landing of Normandy. According to the textbook, Stalin called the invasion a "brilliant success" and acknowledged that "the history of war knows no other enterprise like it for breadth of purpose, grandiose skill and masterful execution." The author of the chapter adds: "The brilliantly executed invasion of Norther France by the British and American armies led to further military successes by ~~by~~ the Allies who by September 15, 1944, had already cleared almost all of France and Belgium of German troops and had crossed the German frontier, occupying the first German city- Trier, the birthplace of Marx."(15) This was an unexpected amount of praise and scientific objectivity. Accordingly, it was to be only a short-lived affair. The 1945 edition was replaced in a few months by the new 1946 edition which brought history into line with the prevalent party thinking.

In this new edition Stalin's generous tribute to the Allies is irrevocably gone. Not a word of it remains and no reference is made to it. The account of the invasion is limited to a bare sentence, "On June 6, 1944, Allied forces accomplished a landing in Northern France." There is no reference to lend-lease although the Soviet Union received the second largest share of it, the largest one being that of Great Britain. There is no reference to allied bombing of German cities. No longer is the invasion a "Brilliant success." The entire contribution of non-Soviet armies to the war is included in one paragraph which follows. The change in tone is readily discernible:

"The victories of the Red Army played a decisive role in insuring the military successes of the Allies in North Africa and Italy. The drawing of the basic strategic reserves of the Germans from the West and the annihilation of the best German divisions on the Soviet-German front made possible the successful development of large offensive operations of the Allies in Europe. On June 6, 1944, allied armies accomplished a landing in the north of France. The second front held 75 Hitler divisions and to a definite degree facilitated the fulfillment by the Red Army of its task of finally defeating the German troops. Thus, the fourth year of the war was a year of decisive

victories of the Soviet armies and the armies of our allies over the German forces."(16)

The short BIOGRAPHY OF I.V. STALIN^a, published in Moscow in 1947, also reflected the changing sentiments which were now changing faster still. In the biography of their revered leader the Soviet people were told that "the military situation created meant that the Soviet Union was in a position, without the assistance of its allies and relying on its own forces, to occupy the whole of Germany and to bring about the liberation of France. This circumstance compelled the former Prime Minister of England, Churchill, who until this time had opposed the opening of the second front in Europe, to undertake the invasion of Europe."(17)

a Similar account appeared in BOLSHEVIK, December 15, 1948. "The Soviet Union was in a position," wrote BOLSHEVIK, "by its own strength, without help of the Allies, to complete the defeat of Germany and liberate the people of Europe from the fascist yoke."(18)

Two months later, on February 23, 1949, TEACHERS GAZETTE was already able to announce that "The Soviet Army was forced to fight single-handed against the Hitlerite hordes for three years. Great Britain and America entered the war when, as a result of annihilating

blows of the Soviet armed forces, victory over Hitlerite Germany was a foregone conclusion."(19)

By September 1949, nothing remained of the battle of Britain, of lend-lease and of the entire allied contribution to the war. Moscow NEW TIMES on August 31, 1949 commented editorially on the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war that, "The soviet people bore the full brunt of the war against the German-fascist invaders. In this singlehanded combat, the Soviet Army decimated the main forces of Hitler Germany, who had harnessed the resources of all occupied Europe to her service. Only when it became evident that the Soviet Union was able singlehanded to inflict decisive defeat on Hitler Germany did the Western Allies, fearing they might prove to be outsiders at the victory celebrations, bring themselves to take a part in the military operations in Europe."(20)

To these attempts to erase the memory of the British, Canadian and American dead and to emphasize the Soviet superiority at the expense of history, the BBC foreign service answered back. Its answer was simple and, for the Soviet leaders, embarrassing. The BBC quoted the generous tribute paid by Stalin to the Allies after D-Day. It was a tragic spectacle: the broadcast like so many others was jammed by the Soviet transmitters.(21) Stalin

prevented his people from being reminded of what Stalin had told them five years ago. History was too weak to defend itself against the Soviet superiority, against what Zhdanov called "a culture that is many times superior to bourgeois culture," a culture which "has the right to teach others the new universal morals." (22) This was the Soviet struggle against history; in this, as in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany, the USSR fought single-handed. Like Hitler four years before, history suffered a defeat.

Such rough handling of historical evidence presumably surprised no one within the borders of the Soviet Union. In the Stalinist experience that was a common occurrence, regarded as not only a legitimate but a very desirable weapon of Communist education. The practice is not limited to history; it embraces art, drama, literature, in short every manifestation of creative and intellectual activity. For instance, in the summer of 1947 Zhdanov denounced the work of the philosopher G. Alexandrov as "Abstract, objectivist, neutral." Moscow later explained that this does not mean to do violence to the facts. In their own words, "partisanship in the proletarian world view. . . did not exclude objectivity in the study of facts, but on the contrary presupposed it, since the class interests of the proletariat do not contradict but coincide with the

objective course of historical development!"(24) This, it will be noted, is a claim to infallibility, pure and simple. In view of this claim the above examples from the Soviet history texts fall perfectly within the realm of Communist objectivity. In fact this definition seems entirely to exclude the possibility of scientific falsehood. The only mistake one could commit would probably be to produce some work which would not be Stalinist enough in its contents. This was suggested by the French Marxist scientist Prenant, in his BIOLOGY AND MARXISM. Prenant says at the outset that "If the book is good, it is because it is a Marxist book and not in spite of it. If it is bad, that is not because it is Marxist, but because it is not Marxist enough"(25) Stated in plain language, whether the book is good or bad it is inevitably a tribute to Communism. If Communist scientists should create excellent works on science, evidence would pile up in favor of Marxism. If their works should lack scientific qualities, again evidence would pile up in favor of Marxism. No matter what they did they could never fail to testify to the greatness of dialectical materialism.

In discussing scientific objectivity TVORBA, the cultural and political weekly of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, in its February 23, 1949,

issue made a statement (26), by which it was already treading a dangerous ground: "To be partial to the proletariat," it maintained, "means to be partial to the truth." Had TVORBA said it believed it should support the proletariat at all cost and search for the truth at all cost, it would have found many friends abroad. The TVORBA and the PRAVDA however, have their own peculiar conception of truth. The results of this conception have been seen in the present chapter. The next chapter will inquire further into the Communist meaning of truth.

IV. Informing the People.

On July 10, 1947, in an address delivered under the auspices of the All-union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, S.V. Kaftanov, Minister of Higher Education of the USSR, enjoined the Party members that "the reactionary essence of bourgeois systems and laws must be shown to our youth and the superiority of the Soviet order over the bourgeois disclosed." (1) Mr. Kaftanov was merely reaffirming the practice which, with partial relaxation during the war, had lasted for almost three decades. Also, he was one of the many official voices speaking to the same effect. Everything seemed to point to the fear in the party that not enough vigilance was observed in protecting the people's minds from unhealthy thoughts. In May 1948, a Moscow conference was called by the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, (reported in Pravda, May 6). (2) The Acting Chairman of the Department, L.F. Ilichev stressed the importance of the Soviet press. According to the Pravda summary of Ilichev's speech, "The press. . . is the most powerful weapon with which the Party speaks daily and hourly to the working class in its own language. No other comparable instrument, no other comparable apparatus, exists

in ~~the~~ nature for strengthening the spiritual ties between Party and class." Mr. Ilichev likewise emphasized the role of the press as "collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer." "The party has entrusted to the workers of the Bolshevik press," said Ilichev in conclusion, "one of the most responsible and militant tasks in the universal struggle for the building of Communism."

The methods by which, through the media of mass communications, this building of Communism is being performed are well worth examining.

The broadest and most effective weapon is complete absence from the pages of the Soviet books and newspapers of items that could convey a favourable impression about the non-Soviet world (and unfavourable impression of the USSR). This is paralleled by piling up stories which give only unfavourable impression, of the Western countries which are alleged to be representative of our way of life.

For instance, the information given to the Soviet people about the work and issues in the United Nations is very simple. The speeches of foreign delegates are limited to a digest *in* a few sentences with passages critical of the Soviet Union deleted altogether, and usually with only a few direct quotations. At the same time the speeches of the Soviet delegates are printed in

full. Consequently, it is quite impossible for the Soviet readers to learn about the issue involved and to study the case properly. While they have ample opportunity to read the charges of the Soviet delegates they are given no chance to study the replies of the Western delegates or their charges, some of which may go unanswered by the Soviet representatives. In September 1947, Mrs. Pandit of India made a speech in the UN. Her speech was anti-imperialist in tone and was, therefore, given prominence in the Soviet press. Mrs. Pandit, however, made a moving reference to Britain: "In the past," she said, "we have not hesitated to criticize British policy but I wish to put on record the warm appreciation of the Indian people of the spirit which moved British statesmen to make a voluntary surrender of authority." It was not to be put on record by the Soviet editors. Though Mrs. Pandit's speech was reported at considerable length, the above passage was deleted.(3)

In autumn, 1946, there was a heated discussion on Greece in the UN. After a full day in the Council, Soviet papers carried many columns devoted to arguments against Greece. The Greek defence was dismissed with one sentence: "Manuilsky was followed by the Greek representative Dendramis who again defended the reactionary policy of

^{the} Greek Government."(4) How it was defended and what were the pros and cons on the case the Soviet people were *not* *told* of .

The historic session of the UN General Assembly at which the Declaration of Human Rights was approved fared no better. Mr. Vyshinsky's speech was reported word *for* word (on instalments). It was even said in Tass message printed in Izvestiia, December 12, 1948, that Vyshinsky's speech "was followed with the liveliest interest by the public which, disregarding the late hour, filled all seats reserved for the guests and acclaimed the speech with applause." The speech by Manuilsky was also reported at great length. The entire case for the resolution was expressed in the same issue of IZVESTIIA as follows: "The speech of the Soviet delegate was followed by speeches of the representatives of Lebanon, USA, France, Chile, Phillippines and Holland. Their speeches consisted in bombastic praises of the draft of the Declaration of Human Rights. They praised the declaration, they praised each other for having participated in its composition, but very carefully passed *in* silence over the criticism to which the draft of the declaration was subjected by the delegate of the Soviet Union, A.V. Vyshinsky. And the representative of the USA, E. Roosevelt, went so far as to

suggest that the remarks and amendments to the draft of the declaration submitted by the Soviet Union be rejected without discussion."(5)

These examples, it should be made clear, are typical and not exceptional. The Soviet people have no means of sufficiently evaluating the work of the UN whose importance is - at least ostensibly - admitted^t by the Government of the USSR. They have no way of arriving at critical conclusions because the relevant information, even if sought, can nowhere be obtained. This may be contrasted with the very conservative and very anti-Soviet NEW YORK TIMES which prints official speeches and declarations of the Soviet Government in full. The UN Bulletin, on sale in America, presents full information on the Soviet case. The VITAL SPEECHES carries significant speeches also in full, by Stalin, Molotov, Vyshinsky etc. Even if none of these conditions existed, the numerous Communist publications and books provide ample opportunity to study the Soviet case and satisfy the healthy thirst for knowledge. (It goes without saying that anyone can obtain complete official records of all UN documents, of all international conferences, of all treaties by simply writing to the Department of State or the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. None of these conditions are present in the USSR.)

In their handling of the news the Soviet papers make no exception for the office of the President of the United States. President Truman's "Truman Doctrine" speech on March 12, 1947, which even its opponents consider historically important, was never presented in the original. There was no hint that the military aid was directed against the Soviet pressure in the Balkans.(6) Thus the Soviet readers were bound to conclude that the doctrine was entirely aggressive in character.

Often international events are not reported immediately. This leaves the Soviet leaders enough time to decide whether or not, or in what form the event should be presented. Secretary Marshall's radio broadcast of April 28, 1947, about the failure of the Moscow conference was not mentioned in the USSR until May 5 and even then it received only editorial treatment. (7)

When on August 12, 1948, at 4 p.m., the Soviet teacher Kasenkina jumped from the window of the Soviet Consulate at New York, there must have been considerable consternation at Moscow party meetings. Accordingly, no mention was made of the event until it was broadcast by the Voice of America.(8) Then the truth was revealed. Tass Dispatch made the startling discovery that "After being freed from the hands of the White Guard bandits on the afternoon of August the 12, Oksana Kasenkina fell to the

court-yard from the window of her room on the third floor in the building of the Soviet Consulate in New York." The Soviet people could not help shuddering when they learned that "when Kasenkina had already been carried into the consulate's premises, American Intelligence agents in the guise of American police" broke into the premises "and sent Kasenkina by force to a hospital. . . there she is surrounded by police who are clearly exerting pressure on her and have tried to put out entire statements allegedly coming from Kasenkina herself." The Soviet teacher Samarin was also abducted.(9)

Later on the Soviet Consul General Lomakin succeeded in obtaining more details on the case. His official statement issued for the press and published also in the Soviet press asserted that "the forcible kidnapping of Mrs. Kasenkina by White Guards, the injection of drugs made by them with the purpose of weakening her will" and the propaganda of the American press and radio hostile to her "undermined her health and affected her mental state." When Kasenkina was liberated and brought to the Soviet Consulate every effort was made, according to Mr. Lomakin, to give her comfort and improve her health. Just at a time when she "began to recover from the horrors lived through by her" she became again depressed by the threats of the American press that "she would be called by force to the American court." Lomakin movingly described the

events that followed. According to him, Kasenkina exclaimed, "I want to go home as soon as possible because I am afraid of being caught by these White Guard fiends." Then she saw a crowd "running toward the consulate. She ran away with horror from the window and cried 'It looks as if they are coming to get me.'" Then, "losing control of herself" she "leaped from a third-floor window." (10) That is the Soviet story of Kasenkina. Inside the USSR no question was asked about its plausibility. In the USA Kasenkina soon recovered from the horrors of the FBI and wrote a book about her experiences in the Soviet Union. The book has not found its way into the Soviet Union.

The only significant departure from this unwritten law of silence by the Soviet press was Mr. Byrnes's speech at the Paris Peace Conference when he specifically asked Mr. Molotov to have his speech reprinted in full in the Soviet press. (11)

The Soviet editors are always anxious to convey the impression that American people do not support their leaders and that whatever is being done is done against the will of the majority. The phrase they specifically use is that "the broad masses" of the American people are not in sympathy with their government. The same phrase is applied to all European countries though only in France and Italy the pro-Soviet elements constitute

anything like "broad masses." To show how the American people disagreed with their leaders, PRAVDA, on Sept. 7, 1946, reported Secretary Byrnes's Stuttgart speech in 36 lines of vague generalities, while American critical comments on it took 228 lines. (September 8 and 11)(12) On the London Conference of 1945 PRAVDA carried 75 lines of favourable comments from the US, 8 lines of criticism. Stalin's speech of February, 1946 received 75 lines of friendly and six lines of critical commentary from the USA, in PRAVDA, February 13, 1946. On Churchill's Fulton speech PRAVDA reported only negative comments in the US.

The labor leaders in the US, unlike those in the USSR, are not representative of the working class opinion. On November 30, 1948, Bolshevik took pains to point out that the "policy of the yellow labor leaders (CIO, AF of L) in no measure reflects the opinion of the subjugated mass of members of the labor organisations and of the working class of the USA." (13)

In addition, lengthy reports are carried about various "progressive" groups comparatively little known in America and attention paid to them out of all proportion to their significance. It is implied or explicitly stated that such groups are representative of public opinion. Thus the WIN THE PEACE rally in New York in 1946 was given warm editorial treatment in PRAVDA. "The importance and force"

of the rally" PRAVDA, April 14, 1946, explained, "consists in that it reflects the opinion of the common people." (14) The importance of the common people to which PRAVDA referred, when measured by the Progressive party vote in 1948, amounted to approximately two and a half percent. There are many other groups which, though little known, are represented as expressing opinion of large sections of the American public, such as the Greek-American Council, American Youth for Democracy, and various Peace Councils. A classical example of a similar type of reporting is given in Paul Winterton's REPORT ON RUSSIA. The Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg vehemently denounced during the war in RED STAR a certain Lady Gibb because of some alleged anti-Soviet statements. The impression was that she was a lady of importance whom everyone knew. There was great embarrassment among American and British correspondents in Moscow. No one ever met or heard of the good lady and Paul Winterton still has no idea who she was. But the Soviet people were led to believe that she represented responsible British opinion. (15)

The state of civil liberties in the USA is depicted to the Soviet people on a standard pattern. Here in particular the Soviet leaders take great pains utterly to ignore favourable trends and limit themselves to the most extreme, though often most isolated and uncommon, examples

of abridgement of civil liberties. Positive efforts are also made by resorting to complete misrepresentation. Since the loyalty of the people of the USSR to their leaders obviously depends on creating the conviction that their civil liberties far exceed those prevalent elsewhere, successful performance in this respect becomes doubly imperative. No effort is spared to present the civil liberties in the US as not only negligible and largely only nominal, but also as constantly deteriorating. Furthermore the impression is generated throughout that those who stand up against the reactionary tendencies, against Jim Crowism, against lynching are only American Stalinists and their friends, thus leaving millions of Americans unaccounted for and also a number of Senators and Congressmen and Government people. Inevitably in the eyes of the Soviet people American Stalinists emerge as the only champions of justice since - so it seems to them - no one else speaks forth. Lynchings, strikes, denials of justice are eagerly seized upon by the Soviet editors and figure prominently in the newspapers. This in itself is a legitimate practice. Unfortunately, the Soviet reporting stops at that. It gives nothing else that would pertain to the case. Whenever the Federal Supreme Court hands down a ruling in support of civil rights, the press somehow fails to report; whenever an abridgement previously reported has been corrected the Soviet editors are silent;

whenever the strikes have been settled and the workers' demands met there is no mention of it in the Soviet newspapers. When in May 1948 the US Supreme Court held that restrictive covenants prohibiting the sale and lease of real property to the people of certain racial or religious groups were unenforceable that was a historic ruling.(16) The Soviet communications media did not respond.

On January 5, 1950, President Truman delivered his State of the Union message. True, the speech contained many free enterprise pronouncements which supplied the Soviet editors with a rewarding material to work on. But there were many disturbing features too: President Truman asked for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law; he proposed a Federal Civil Rights Program, and made a few other observations which would seem puzzling to the people of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet press workers were undismayed. Had not Illichev told them that they were charged with "the building of Communism?" Had not BOLSHEVIK told them only two years before that they were supposed to educate their people "in a spirit of socialist consciousness?"(17) Does not Stalin tell them that the Marxist-Leninist theory gives the party the possibility to "orient itself in a situation?"(18) Surely this situation was no exception to that. And so the Tass people labored for many long hours over the Truman speech. When finally, o n

January 8, 1950, the story appeared in PRAVDA it became obvious that they were worthy of the confidence of the party; it also became obvious that any similarity between Truman's message and PRAVDA report was now purely accidental.

The speech was cut down to a fraction of its original length. It was purified of all passages that would disturbed the long-cultivated Soviet version of Truman as exploiter and enemy of the American people. It was the ideal of a speech which Truman would undoubtedly have delivered had he consulted PRAVDA editors and TASS correspondents before he spoke. Again, justice to the case could be done only if both speeches could be printed side by side. Within our limitations a brief comment must be sufficient.

Truman stressed the danger of monopolies and asked for anti-monopoly legislation;(14) no mention of it was made in PRAVDA. Truman asked for repeal of the Taft-Hartley statute; this was completely deleted. Truman asked for legislation to help cooperatives and other non-profit organisations build houses for low-income groups; this disappeared in PRAVDA story without as much as leaving a trace. Truman proposed publicly owned power projects and government investment in conservation and development of natural resources; he demanded a Federal Civil Rights legislation; suggested federal assistance for

education; called for a system of medical insurance, unemployment benefits and old-age pensions. PRAVDA buried everything ^{whatever} in the President's speech which had a slight progressive tinge vanished entirely under the pens of the builders of Communism. As Stalin once wrote in MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION (Bertram De Wolfe, THREE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION, p.447), "Paper will put up with anything that is written on it." It may however, have been none of PRAVDA'S fault. Obviously no one could be for the Negroes, for the working class and against the Soviet Union. President Truman could not eat his cake and have it, too. PRAVDA may have been doing merely its duty in unmasking President Truman and portraying him in the objectively true light.

Whatever the motives, the message was reported only in a few insignificant quotations; the rest of the article was taken up by PRAVDA'S own comments. And the editors saw to it that even the few quotations should convey an incorrect impression.

PRAVDA wrote that Truman called the State of the Union "good but limited himself to the statement and gave in fact no data which would confirm the optimistic appraisal." PRAVDA did not print the following data which Mr. Truman gave in the latter part of his address: "In the last fifty years, the income of the average family has increased so greatly that its buying power has doubled. The

average hours of work have declined from sixty to forty a week, while the hourly production of the average worker has tripled. Average wages, allowing for price changes, have increased from about 45 cents an hour to \$1.40 an hour!"(20)

PRAVDA also wrote: "'These gains; the message says,' cannot be achieved unless our businessmen maintain their spirit of initiative and enterprise and operate in a competitive economy.'

"In this way it is openly admitted, that the foundation of the so-called 'gains' is to remain the same system of domination of capitalist monopolies and of the conditions of slavery for the toilers."

The following is Truman's quotation in full:

"These gains cannot be achieved unless our businessmen maintain their ~~spirit~~ of initiative and enterprise and operate in a competitive economy. THEY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS OUR WORKING MEN AND WOMEN AND THEIR UNIONS HELP TO INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY AND OBTAIN FOR LABOR A FAIR SHARE OF THE BENEFITS OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THEY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS WE HAVE A STABLE AND PROSPEROUS AGRICULTURE. THEY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS WE CONSERVE AND DEVELOP OUR NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST."
(The passage deleted is in italics). PRAVDA could also well afford to infer that Truman wanted to strengthen monopolies because it failed to print Truman's remark that if proper

steps were ~~not~~ taken "our constantly growing economy will fall under the control of a few dominant economic groups whose powers will be so great that they will be a challenge to democratic institutions." "To avoid this danger," he said, "we must curb monopoly. . . ."

No useful purpose would be served by multiplying examples, because the direct quotation amounted to about five percent of the original speech.

By now we are not surprised that out of 48 lines of American comment on the State of the Union speech, only three lines were favourable. According to PRAVDA, the message was acclaimed by some "birzheviki," which translated means stock-brokers.

An analysis of the article, then, shows that though PRAVDA committed many mistakes it was not the mistake of being "abstract, objectivist, neutral." In fairness to PRAVDA we have to note that this newspaper of the greatest Communist party in the world is not without a serious rival on this Continent. An excellent analysis of an article in Chicago Tribune published in Harper's Magazine in April 1949, would indicate that in the art of reporting, PRAVDA and Colonel McCormick, though great antagonists, adhere to the same ethical code.

The picture that the average Soviet citizen has about the everyday life in America is utterly horrify-

ing. He knows that in the US, "Negroes are being hanged, innocent people are shot dead in the streets, and teargas is used against the workers who have to work like slaves." He also knows that "it is only logical that in that country children should be beaten regularly." This hopeful message was broadcast by radioMoscow on March 18, 1949.(21) It typifies the existing temper in the Soviet editorial offices and broadcasting stations. It is obvious that some people are being shot dead on the streets and that some workers may have to work like slaves. Unfortunately such statements - and this must always be born in mind - are made WITHOUT QUALIFICATIONS. They are repeated day in, and day out, and NO EXAMPLES TO THE CONTRARY ARE ADMITTED, thus conveying the impression that this is the prevalent state of affairs, a daily occurrence which hardly disturbs anyone except the victims or the righteous members of the American Communist party. Since no voice is raised against the injuries whenever they appear, since no constitutional steps are sought, or are possible, to correct the existing injuries, the logical remedy is the dictatorship of the Communist party. In addition, this gloomy picture helps soften the harsh features of the Soviet regime at home. And as the travel ban precludes anyone but trusted party officials from gaining first-hand knowledge on civil liberties in the US, all avenues which would correct or qualify the

Soviet news stories are closed. Also, no foreign printed material (this will be developed in the next chapter) is admitted. The reason for this has become obvious.

A humorous illustration of how the theme is maintained at any price appears in Vyshinsky's LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE (p. 606): "The Constitution of the state of Arkansas says frankly: 'No|one denying the existence of God can occupy a place in state institutions or be admitted to testify in courts.' Thus it is impossible to speak of freedom of conscience in the United States in the true sense of the word. . . ." The writer seems to have left the other 47 states entirely out of the account.

The examples of the Soviet interpretation of the American life could be multiplied ad infinitum. TRUD, the organ of the Soviet trade unions, wrote on April 5, 1949, that "In the US there is no paid leave for expectant mothers and no|one has heard of free hospital and nursing home treatment. . . ." TRUD also wrote that "Negresses, Mexican women and Porto Rican women, though they may be US citizens, have no rights whatsoever and are subjected to the most cruel exploitation and degradation." (22) That many Negroes and Negresses are being deprived of many rights is known to and detested by millions of Americans. The Report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, issued in 1947, published detailed information on the case. The Soviet editors would find a great many friends among the

enlightened American public if they informed their readers accurately about the injustices done in the US; if they mentioned favourable and unfavourable trends, if they reported correctly the progress made, and conducted an open discussion on this vital subject; and if they reported everything which is being done in America to combat discrimination. Unhappily, the fate of the Negroes figures only secondary in the calculations of the Soviet leaders. They state the case in absolute and general terms admitting no other evidence primarily to create the impression that no progress is and indeed can be made unless the Communist party is given the opportunity to govern. Thus their information loses its value.

Similarly, the RED STAR categorically stated on July 15, 1949, that in the US "medical help is virtually unobtainable for the toilers" and that "the simple man in the United States is completely unprotected from arbitrary action by police, Federal organs, and reactionary organisations." (23) The Soviet readers would be greatly surprised to find that there are also millions of simple Americans who have never been threatened by the FBI, never shot on the street, never disturbed in their ordinary pursuits of life. It would be an unexpected discovery for the Soviet readers to see that millions of Americans (outside of the capitalist class) lead a quiet life, raise their children

and love them instead of beating them regularly, and heard never of any terror stalking America. THE LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE(24) contains a description of child and woman employment and work conditions in Britain. The writer gives a quotation from a work by Marx and Engels called "The position of the Working Class in England." Marx's and Engel's description written in the last century is represented as giving a picture of contemporary Britain. There is no suggestion anywhere that conditions might have changed or improved since the time of Marx. THE LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE throughout is a classical example of what the Soviet people are expected to know about foreign countries.

It would perhaps be permissible for the Soviet citizens to wonder why no one in America appeals to the courts to seek protection against the violation of their rights. For that the Soviet press, too, supplies an answer. The most respectable of all Soviet magazines, BOLSHEVIK, testifies to the following: "No one dares to appeal to the courts with complaints against the racketeers, as everybody knows that, though the racketeer would appear before the court, he would emerge unscathed, whereas the plaintiff would bring upon himself fierce chastisement and would find protection nowhere. The court itself assists the racketeer in this respect."(25) This is the passage as it appears in the "political and theoretical journal of the Central

Committee of the All-Union of the Communist Party," the party whose example, the Communists always make clear, is to be followed. The very words "no one dares to appeal" suffice~~ex~~ to invalidate the statement.

In autumn 1948 the Soviet press brought to their people a speech delivered by A. Fadeyev at the World Congress of Intellectuals held in Poland. The Congress itself received much editorial praise. Mr. Fadeyev made his speech as the head of the Soviet delegation, and his revelations went far to explain to the Soviet people the nature of justice in America. On August the 29, 1948, PRAVDA, the daily organ of the Central Committee carried the address in full.(26) A part of it which purports to be a description of contemporary America follows:

"'People whom we call the staff of big business,' writes one of the prominent leaders of American culture who is obliged to conceal his name, 'have thrown all their forces against us, and after two years of savage propaganda unequalled as yet in any other country of the world the American intelligentsia finds itself facing the threat of cold terror. . . Henceforth in the United States the expression of any thought which might be regarded as dangerous will be punished with ten years in prison, a fine of ten thousand dollars, and deprivation of American citizenship. . . A writer who writes anything dissenting from the official policy of the United States is also threatened with

ten years in prison. . ."

The American reader will be puzzled by this description of his own country. He would be puzzled still more if he could examine the entire speech of Fadeyev's to which no amount of excerpts can do justice. The American reader may be accustomed to semitruth or subtle misrepresentation. But he will hardly comprehend that Mr. Fadeyev, the Soviet intellectual, speaking to the World Congress of Intellectuals, says something which is utterly devoid of truth, something which constitutes untruth in its purest form. No one can be deprived of American citizenship unless it was obtained by fraud. No law exists which would henceforth impose prison terms or fines for "any thought which might be regarded as dangerous." Even the war time sedition laws have been limited in application. That a writer who writes anything dissenting from the official policy of the US Government is threatened with ten years in prison is absurd unless one chooses to regard the publications of the American Communist party as conforming to the policy of the Government.

The above passage can only imperfectly indicate the spirit of the address. The semi-truths and untruths in it are so many that a whole ^t chapter would be required to analyze them. A. Fadeyev for instance represented Upton Sinclair and Sinclair Lewis as harboring pro-Soviet

sympathies. Both indignantly denied the claim and placed themselves unequivocally on record as opposed to the USSR. Their letters are published in THE COUNTRY OF THE BLIND by George S. Counts.

The entire address of Fadeyev's was printed in PRAVDA in full. Millions of the Soviet people read it but no comments from the American sources were allowed to appear. The defendant was condemned without having the privilege of speaking in his own defence. Inside the USSR no dissenting voice was uttered by any of its 190 million inhabitants.

Mr. Fadeyev, we should emphasize, is no unimportant individual. His credentials are very convincing and no doubt can be raised that he has the party behind him. The mere fact that he emerged as leader of the Soviet writers after the famous shake-up bears witness to his position in the party. Also, he was selected to be head of the Soviet intellectuals to a World Congress of Intellectuals. Mr. Fadeyev's speech is a speech of one of the chief representatives of Soviet culture and thought.

The denial of workers rights in Britain are no less severe than those in the US. On the 30th of July, Mr. Mayhew startled the British House of Commons by disclosing how the Moscow radio described a May Day demonstration in London. The British Government "turned London into

an armed camp," on May Day, it was said. "Armoured cars assembled in front of the workers districts. Lines of police waited in full military preparedness. Mothers hid their children so that they should not fall before the merciless bullets of the police of their enemies."(27) It is not difficult to see that the Soviet Government which claims to be a workers government is particularly anxious to portray the lot of the British and North-American workers as universally intolerable. The above passage is a good illustration. It is only because there is no one in the USSR to give any evidence to the contrary or to qualify such reports that the Soviet editors can exercise their imagination without limits. It is only because of such circumstances that Moscow NEW TIMES, on July 14, 1948, could make it a common knowledge that "Today in the year 1948, as before the war, the American workers' wages do not suffice for the purchase of an overcoat once in six years."(28) There is no one to dispute such information. There is no one to say that indeed there are many workers who belong to that category; that that is no secret and that there are official government and private surveys giving in details incomes of all American families; but that to make the picture complete one has to mention many American workers who have their own homes, their own gardens and even their own cars.

Reference was made above to the report of the RED STAR about the medical help in the US. That too was no isolated occurrence. No less a man than M. V. Kuznetsov, President of the All-Union Trade Union Congress, speaking at the 10th Congress, said that "as regards medical aid in works and factories over there (capitalist countries), there is no point in mentioning the subject. It does not exist." This speech was reported in TRUD, organ of the trade-unions, on April 20, 1949. (29) It would seem from Mr. Kuznetsov's bold generalisation that Britain had no medical aid for the working people. Even about the United States when stated in such absolute terms the observation is quite incorrect.

As regards the bourgeois prisons, Moscow radio on July 30, 1949, claimed that their aim "is the moral and physical crippling and annihilation of the inmates. . . prisoners who do not fulfill their output quota are cruelly tortured." (30) Many unpleasant revelations about bourgeois prisons were made by bourgeois writers. But the Moscow picture of it is certainly neither universal nor even typical.

Amid these shocking discoveries the Soviet citizen is entitled to ask why the people in the bourgeois countries do not cast their ballots in such a way as to elect better representatives. The Soviet leaders always ready to educate their people in the spirit of Communist consciousness have their answers at hand. As IZVESTIYA cogently put

it: "It is notorious that at the time of the last presidential election fifty million American electors were prevented from voting by various machinations." (31)

IZVESTIYA gave no suggestion that someone might have stayed at home of his own will, in addition to that number (certainly not fifty million) which the poll-tax prevented from voting.

Also apparently in the spirit of socialist consciousness was the description of American election procedures which was broadcast in Moscow, Home Service, November 1, 1948. Its purpose probably was to help the Soviet people visualize the American scene, and prepare them for the defeat of the American Communist party at the polls. On the following day, the American election took place. Under the title "What the American Electoral System Really Is" the commentary included among other items the following paragraph:

"According to an established procedure, the name and address of the elector are entered in the register. During the voting the number is entered on the back of the electoral ballot paper. Therefore, there is every possibility to establish for what ~~the~~ candidate the voter cast his vote. Such is the electoral system in the United States which has been praised so much by the American propagandists in particular by the American radio. It is necessary to

take into consideration the election procedure." (32) Kaftanov's recommendation "That the superiority of the Soviet order over the bourgeois" be "disclosed," was almost fulfilled. In his zeal the Soviet commentator, however, may not have realized the difference between the state of Texas and the United States of America. The voting procedure so vividly described by him is still sometimes enforced in Texas. But Texas, whether the Soviet commentator likes it or not, is one of the forty eight American states

If the Soviet citizen is interested to find out exactly how many people in the US vote freely, Mr. Vyshinsky's LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE supplies the figure: "Giddings, an American Professor, considers that by reason of the terror occurring at elections, only five percent of the voters of the country (USA) vote freely." The writer stands fully behind the estimate. He raises no doubt as to its accuracy or reliability and gives no other estimate whatsoever. He does not say in which work the figure appears and how it was compiled. Furthermore, the figure is only a confirmation of the opinion that the writer of the chapter himself holds and which, throughout the whole chapter, he makes clear.

There is yet another theme currently heard in the USSR, akin to the one just described: that the American culture and science is utterly corrupt, rotten to

the core and performing the services of Wallstreet. Again all statements are made without qualifying remarks, thus invalidating the truth which they might contain.

A triumphant analysis of the bourgeois culture is found in Fadeyev's speech which was discussed earlier. Mr. Fadeyev's speech is a perfect example of the Soviet concept of truth, the truth which assumes the form of everything which contributes to the victory of Communism, regardless of whether it conforms to observable facts or not. Fadeyev charged in his address that the Yale scientists in the book ABSOLUTE WEAPON advocate an atomic war against the Soviet Union. All that pertains to the charge is contained in the following sentence: "'Scientists' of Yale University in a pseudoscientific volume entitled 'The Absolute Weapon' advocate the launching of an atomic war against the USSR." We are expected to place trust in Mr. Fadeyev's words, for he withholds his evidence. He does not as much as attempt to point to a single passage in the book which would justify his conclusions. In fact, we suspect that he never read the book at all. The discussion of the problem of the atomic bomb in regard to the USSR is found in the third chapter of the volume entitled "The Atomic Bomb in the Soviet-American Relations." (33) The author of the chapter writes that "The idea of a preventive war is so abhorrent to American feeling

that no government in this country, to judge from the state of public opinion today, could hope to gain popular support for such a venture." He also says that "the whole idea of offensive use of the bomb during the period of our monopoly can safely be laid aside as utterly impracticable"; that our defence first "consists in proper efforts on our part to settle our disputes with the Soviet Union peacefully and to avoid adding new ones." Professor Wolfers (author of the chapter) is so generous to the USSR that he defends the veto because the "Soviet Union has good reasons for believing that the veto constitutes an essential element of her security." All this, in Fadayev's language, means advocating an atomic war against the USSR. It should again be stressed that the Soviet people have no opportunity of reading the book and consequently, if they believe Mr. Fadayev, must inevitably think that American scientists openly advocate dropping the A-bomb on the Soviet Union, out of sheer imperialist intentions. All the more so since Fadayev's speech emphasizes the theme throughout. Fadayev's speech will also go far to explain why the Soviet Government prohibits circulation of foreign printed materials in the USSR. The idea that this is done merely to prevent slanderous propaganda from reaching the Soviet people can not honestly be held.

According to Fadayev, the representative of

Soviet culture, not only American science is corrupt and imperialist but other branches of culture as well.

Literature in the US "preaches the repudiation of the social nature of man." Also, "Contemporary bourgeois literature and art are precisely the apologetics of the beast" because "American monopolists find beasts indispensable for the realization of their plans for world domination," and because "the propaganda of crime, of lechery, of beastly instincts is indispensable to reaction for the conversion of the masses of the people into their obedient tools."

With something less than moderation Fadayev made the comparison between bourgeois writers and hyenas and reached the conclusion that "If jackals could learn to use the typewriter and hyenas could master the fountain pen, they no doubt would write just like Henry Miller, Eliot, Malraux, and other Sartrists."

If stated in a tempered form some of Fadayev's claims could be critically discussed. If the charges were anything more than indiscriminate and wholesale depreciation of our literature, Fadayev would find that a great many Americans would be willing to consider them. But Fadayev's dogma is the dogma of black and white. Just ~~as~~ ^{now} no one can be pro-Negro and anti-Soviet, so no one could write poetry and be against the Soviet Union. Only those American writers who are friendly to the Soviet Union are excluded

from Fadeyev's sweeping definition of bourgeois culture. As a result, to name just a few, Archibald McLeish, J.W. Krutch, Norman Cousins, Reinhold Niebuhr inevitably rank among "the apologetics of the beast."

When Fadeyev says that "the total expenditure on public education in the United States is only one and one-half percent of the national income," he nowhere adds that an accurate picture of US expenditures on education is obtained by considering federal, state and private expenditures together. In the USSR all of this is included in the federal budget, thus creating the impression that the difference between the USSR and the USA is far greater than it is. The same inexactness was committed by the LITERARY GAZETTE, the organ of the Union of Soviet Writers, on September 22, 1948, and by Moscow radio on March 14, 1949.

Similar disparagement of the American culture at the expense of accuracy occurred in an address by A.G. Kalashnikov, Minister of Education of the RSFSR, on October 24, 1947.(35) Without qualification or explanation he simply stated that "science is falsified or altogether eliminated from the educational institutions of these (bourgeois) countries." We are at a loss to guess what he meant because the sentence quoted is all that he has to say on the subject.

Elsewhere in his speech, the Minister of

Education of the RSFSR made the following observation about the philosopher Dewey: "The famous American philosopher and educator, Dewey, in his book, The Problems of Men, attempts to prove that the purpose of education is to cultivate in the child those mental and moral tendencies and habits which would enable him to occupy the most comfortable and profitable position in society, that is, to become shrewd businessman."

"The task of ^{the} school, 'preaches' Dewey, is to nurture in the young generation, 'an intelligent understanding of social life necessary for the strengthening of the new social orientation,' that is, that warlike reaction which is propagated by American imperialists."

These are not casual remarks; Kalashnikov's words are taken from that part of his address which purports to be a description of American education. Other remarks are similar in tone, and ~~in absence of truth~~. The American reader will undoubtedly have to read the passage over and over again to recognize that the man under discussion is ^{the} philosopher Dewey. He probably never before read such interpretation of Dewey's work. To achieve his results Kalashnikov uses one half sentence which is found in one of Dewey's works. Mr. Kalashnikov probably had to employ a staff of people and search long for a sentence that would portray Dewey as ^{an} imperialist. Evidently, he was unsuccessful. In thousands of pages that Dewey has written no such ^{an} equally erroneous

sentence could be found. Kalashnikov had to remain content with the above quotation taken from the Problems of Men. Unfortunately for him, even this sentence contained nothing which would reveal Dewey's imperialist designs. But like PRAVDA editors in their treatment of Truman's address, this Soviet Minister of Education could also orient himself in a situation. He simply put his own interpretation on the words "the new social orientation" and without any apparent connection called this "a warlike reaction which is propagated by American imperialists."

To obtain an idea of the staggering disregard for truth exhibited by Kalashnikov, it will be necessary to give in full the paragraph from which the half-sentence is taken:

"My other remark is to the effect that one great business of the schools at present is to develop immunity against the propaganda influence of press and radio. Julian Huxley in his book on 'Scientific Research and Social Needs' (a book which every teacher should read) says that, 'one aim of education should be to teach people to discount the unconscious prejudices that their social environments impress upon them! The press and the radio are two of the most powerful means of inculcating mass prejudice. War propaganda and the situation in Hitlerized Germany have proved that unless the schools create popular intelligence

that is critically discriminating, there is no limit to the prejudices and inflamed emotion that will result. An intelligent understanding of social forces given by schools is our chief protection. INTELLIGENT UNDERSTANDING OF CONDITIONS AND FORCES CANNOT FAIL, IN MY JUDGEMENT, TO SUPPORT A NEW GENERAL SOCIAL ORIENTATION. There are difficulties enough in the way of the schools obtaining the power to promote this understanding. Concentration on this task is directly in line with the professed function of public education, and it alone will give the educators concerned with a new social orientation a herculean task to perform."(36)

(The sentence which apparently served as basis for Mr. Kalshnikov's quotation is italicized). Mr. Kalashnikov has the comfortable feeling that ~~no~~one can dispute his conclusions, or no one can even compel him to quote in full the paragraph from which his sentence was taken. As usual, the Soviet people are unable to arrive at their own ~~critical~~ opinion. To the American reader this conception of Dewey's philosophy confounds imagination. But the Soviet leaders have their good reasons for blackening the record of the venerable philosopher. In the late thirties John Dewey headed a commission which investigated - as far as that could have been done outside of the USSR - the facts of the famous Moscow trials. The commission's

report showed discrepancies and inconsistencies in the confessions, and amassed evidence which so far no one has satisfactorily answered. It was at this time that Dewey became a special object of Communist fury. He and Lundberg were by the DAILY WORKER, on August 14, 1939, denounced as "Fascists and Allies of Fascists." (37) Since then he has done nothing to improve his reputation.

It should be remembered that Kalashnikov, like Mr. Fadeyev, is a man of prominence in the USSR. He is the man in charge of education in the RSFSR, the largest of the Soviet republics which includes over three quarters of the total area of the USSR and has more than half of its population. It was a bitter irony that the address was delivered under the auspices of the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge.

Andrei Zhdanov was another Communist giant to be concerned about the state of the bourgeois culture. In his address to the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers, (38) on August 21, 1946, he interpreted the bourgeois culture as "putrid and baneful in its moral foundation. It has been put at the service of private capitalist property. . ." The bourgeois culture, as Zhdanov put it, moved in the channels of "vulgar and ideologically empty literature and art, crowded with gangsters, chorus girls, praise of adultery, and the affairs of adventurers

and rogues of every kind." Those of the Soviet writers who displayed such regrettable bourgeois tendencies were singled out for attack. Particularly memorable is Zhadnov's tribute to Akhmatova, the Soviet woman writer:

"The subject-matter of Akhmatova is individualistic to the core. Her poetry is poverty-stricken - the poetry of a frantic little lady, rushing back and forth between the ^{bedroom} ~~bedroom~~ and the chapel. Basic with her are amorous - erotic motifs, interlaced with motifs of sadness, anguish, death, mysticism and doom. . . . Not quite a nun and not quite a fornicatrix, but rather a fornicatrix and a nun in whom fornication is mingled with prayer." After Zhadnov's attack, Akhmatova was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers. She has published no poem since.

The issue of warmongering is - no one will dispute - a very important one. It has been treated in the USSR again on the black-and-white pattern. There are warmongers in the United States. But there are some indications that warmongers are not unknown or unheard in the Soviet sphere of influence. That would appear from reading No.44, 1946, issue of Moscow LITERARY GAZETTE, organ of the Union of Soviet Writers: It says:

"We must write about war in such a way that the generation of young Soviet people which comes after us will love arms and be ready for battles and victories."(39) The

Hungarian Minister of Defence was likewise worried that people were getting tired of war. The following is how he registered his complaint in SZABAD NEB, organ of the Hungarian Communist party, on April 12, 1949: "A certain pacifism has made itself felt within the ranks of our party, particularly lately. Slogans like 'we want no more wars' are very significant of this pacifism. First of all, therefore, we have to overcome this feeling of pacifism within our own party in order to be able to fight it down in the masses."(40)

In the Soviet Union such feelings have presumably been overcome. Since 1930 the USSR has had compulsory military service ranging from two to five years. Utmost care is taken to prevent any feeling of pacifism from arising among children. Chapter III of the Soviet PEDAGOGY contains the following instructions for teachers: "Already in the primary school work is conducted for the purpose of equipping the pupils with those elements of general knowledge which are closely related to the military preparation of future warriors. Here they become acquainted with the types of arms used in the Red Army."(41) While it is claimed that this is preparation for defence there is no reason why elsewhere similar steps would mean preparation for war. But within the USSR, whatever the leaders do, this is an effort to strengthen peace. Outside

of the USSR, the non-Communists are bent on war. Outside the USSR the spokesmen of Stalinism are ready to see war-mongering frequently under circumstances where the connection is none too clear. During the investigation of the Soviet espionage in Canada, Moscow radio on April 23, 1946, quoting the newspaper TRUD, declared that Gouzenko was in the services of "the dark political forces which are thinking of a third world war, who fear their own people, and who hide their own plans with allegations that the Soviet Union is threatening war." TRUD'S article concluded optimistically: "Fortunately for peace and humanity, these dark forces do not have the final say. That depends on the people who are firmly determined to preserve peace, and whose will to peace cannot be broken by the dark forces of reaction." TRUD did not specify whether, should a Canadian spy ring be broken in the USSR, that would reveal that the Soviet Union is planning a third world war.

The Communist reaction to the Chilean resolution in the UN, calling on the USSR to release the Soviet wives of foreign citizens, was equally perplexing. The Polish delegate called the resolution a part of a campaign to "drug the minds of people to the point of view where they will be ready to obey those who systematically conduct war propaganda and the preparation for a new war." (43) Most delegates failed to see that the desire of

one thousand British, American, Canadian and other citizens to live with their legitimate wives was part of a war propaganda. They sometimes had the impression that to justify all the harsh measures of the Soviet system, the Soviet leaders had to resort to myths about the non-Soviet countries *preparing* for war against the USSR. Fear of war and attack may be something very genuine. Fear of attack may also artificially be generated. The case of Fadeyev~~x~~ versus Absolute Weapon, Kalashnikov versus Dewey, and other examples, are a clear expression of a tendency to create, artificially, among the Soviet people fear of military attack.

Throughout this chapter we have noticed that the Soviet press is a fusion of truth, semitruth and untruth. Yet, at the same time that the Soviet spokesman and leading party members were delivering words of untruth to their fellow citizens they emphasized the moral and cultural superiority of the Soviet political order, and of the party on whose behalf they spoke. In the ~~same~~ breath that Mr. Kalashnikov imputed to John Dewey intentions which were in direct opposition to the very paragraph from which he quoted, he said that the "Soviet Union has become the centre of a progressive socialist culture, a light to illuminate the road for other peoples and states." In the same breath that Fadeyev made statements which he knew were

devoid of truth, he was inviting the progressive world to rally to the defence of the culture on behalf of which the untruth was employed and which he represented. It was the same culture which only two years before Zhdanov called "a culture that is many times superior to the bourgeois culture" and which "has the right to teach others the new universal morals." According to Zhdanov this "goes without saying. . . ." In the same address Zhdanov concluded somewhat immodestly that "we, who form a new, socialist order that represents the embodiment of all that is best in the history of human civilisation and culture, are all the more fit to create the advanced literature in the world, a literature which will far surpass the finest literary examples of former times."(44)

Before closing this chapter we may well mention the appraisal of the Soviet press which was made at the meeting of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation by its Acting Director Ilichev, in May 1948:

"The fundamental characteristics of our press are inherent in its very nature: its mass character, its truthfulness. . . ." (45)

Or, as Mr. Molotov put it, in his reply to the US Ambassador in Moscow in October 1947:

"Despite your allegations, the Soviet press more than the press of any other country whatsoever,

especially aims to elucidate broadly as possible the actual situation and true facts of life of other countries, attaching special significance to the strengthening of friendly relations between peoples."(46)

On these pronouncements, as on all the other Soviet charges and reports reviewed in this chapter, there was complete agreement within the borders of the Soviet Union. If there ~~was~~ not, no sign of disagreement appeared. Article 125 of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of speech by placing at the disposal of the dictatorship of the proletariat the "printing presses, stocks of paper. . . communications facilities," accomplished its purpose.

V. "Agitprop" Unlimited.

It will be objected that out of a large number of newspaper reports and books only a small number was analyzed and that the result of our study may not convey a genuine picture. There are a few answers to this objection. First, no single book or thesis of whatever size can hope to cover all the available material. Every such work is necessarily a work of selection and will always bound to be so. Second, the examples cited in support of the argument, far from being isolated, have reflected the entire intellectual atmosphere now prevalent in the Soviet Union. Third, all the statements were made by persons who were of the highest political calibre; the newspapers cited are under the editorial supervision of the All-Union Communist party. The possibility that they would not express the official opinion is quite excluded. Furthermore, none of the statements on which the study is based have been criticized or disavowed or corrected.

The control of the media of communications has not only enabled the Central Committee to deny the right of dissent to its class enemies; it also gave it the weapon to disseminate untruth. It would probably be a great risk to bestow upon the Central Committee the monopoly right "to

teach others the new universal morals." Nor can the claim be made that the Soviet culture "represents the embodiment of all that is best in the history of human civilisation and culture." Such claim would be no less absurd than the claims that the USSR embodies all that is worst in human civilization. The claim that Zhdanov made is far-reaching and, of course, unprovable. The concept of culture is itself vague and general and no accepted objective criteria exist by which to measure the difference between cultures and especially to ascertain which is better. The attitude of the Soviet culture toward the dissemination of truth casts doubt upon its superiority. Its attitude toward unrestricted individualism and profit-making gives it superiority in at least one important respect. However, culture embodies more than that. Also, one hesitates to admit that the Soviet leaders created a new culture in thirty years, when throughout history it took centuries to build anything like a culture. Nor can the culture be judged by those very people who pride themselves of having created it. It will certainly take many more generations before the superiority of the Soviet culture over other cultures could be discussed.

The attitude of the Soviet press makes the Communist charges against the unfairness of the capitalist press less effective. The charges themselves are very

legitimate. But they are legitimate only if raised by someone who expects our press to call white what is white without granting to the Soviet Union the privilege of calling black what is white. Also, the defenders of Stalinism extend their charges against our press beyond the boundaries of validity. They say, in fact, that there is no difference between the situation in the USSR and the USA because of the alleged capitalist monopoly over the mass media of communications. This theme is so often repeated that it merits closer examination. It consistently ignores the basic issue, the issue of corrective influences.

In the Soviet Union, as the LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE points out (as observed above), liberty of the press is limited only to those who share the political philosophy of the ruling class. Within these narrow limits freedom is narrowed down further to include only those who do not agitate against the government, with the result that criticism and self-criticism concerns only execution of policy but never policy itself. In practice this means that criticism is raised only against the management of collectives, tractor stations, etc. In this case even superiors may be criticized. But criticism of policy is non-existent. The criticism which is most vital that is criticism of the personnel and actions of the Central Committee is not permitted. The person of Stalin, Molotov,

Malenkov and the leading party members have never met with any public word of disapproval. Since we cannot suppose that Prime Minister Stalin has never made any mistake over the past twenty years, some legitimate criticism must have remained unheard. The alternative to that would be to assume the infallibility of Stalin or to accept the idea that although Stalin has made mistakes no one in the USSR has ever noticed it. The philosophical validity of dialectical materialism has also never been questioned.

In the United States the philosophy of idealism, capitalism and free enterprise may, and every day is, being challenged. The philosophy of dialectical materialism may, and every day, is being advocated. The inevitability and necessity of public ownership of all or some means of production and distribution is being taught. The charge that the US Government is bent on aggression and world domination is also made every day. The monopolies are being challenged. Dictatorship of the proletariat is championed. The Soviet Union may and every day is being pictured as a peace-loving country, as a land of justice and progress; it also may and every day is portrayed as a country which is to be preferred to the US.

No rights comparable to those just enumerated exist in the Soviet Union! The fact that some undesirable

social consequences may follow from advocating some of the above opinions is clearly not the issue. Not only such opinions may not even be voiced in the Soviet Union in the first place but there is little doubt about the "social" consequences that would follow if they should ever be expressed. The authors of the LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE give us the exact number of the Criminal Code (RSFSR Criminal Code, Art. 182, 185) under which the social inconvenience will be inflicted.

Every person in the US may likewise oppose, in printed and spoken word, various anti-Communist measures whether they be enacted by Congress or by the state legislature. This right is abundantly used by leading educators and intellectuals, in addition to other groups. The right to invalidate anti-Communist laws have frequently been exercised by judges. The most recent examples have been New Jersey, New York and Maryland where the anti-Communist hysteria resulted in anti-Communist legislation. The laws were invalidated by the courts in 1949. This occurrence may not harmonize with the philosophy of Stalinism and is, therefore, not communicated to the Soviet people but it must be recorded here. The world has yet to see the Soviet judges handing down rulings which would favor the followers of Trotskyism, for example.

In the United States use of force, though not

always advocacy of it (here the line is not clear), to accomplish a change in the personnel or system of government is prohibited. In the USSR both a revolutionary and a peaceful change are clearly illegal.

An inquiry into the technical working of the Soviet system of control will give us a better appreciation of corrective influences or the lack of them in the USSR. The absolute and undisputed control is in the hands of the Board of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party. This board is frequently referred to in party jargon as Agitprop. It controls all propaganda throughout the Soviet Union. Each republic, each region, each district has an analogous Agitprop which takes its orders from the next higher propaganda department. The main administration in Moscow divides into sections for the press, propaganda, agitation and cultural enlightenment.

The press section is in charge of the newspapers. It is in turn divided for administrative purposes into central (Moscow), provincial and local newspapers. The press section appoints editors to PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA and supervises their editorial policy. Editors on lower levels are appointed by the next higher administrative unit, but ALL editors MUST be approved by the main administration in Moscow.

The task of propaganda section is to disseminate propaganda proper, to the Intelligentsia. This section publishes a number of books and journals, the most authoritative being BOLSHEVIK, "the political and theoretical journal of the Central Committee." It also employs tens of thousands of lecture-propagandists. (The word propagandist or propaganda carries no unpleasant connotation in the USSR.)

The agitation section has the same duties as the propaganda section but its work is directed toward the masses.

The cultural enlightenment section has control of the reading rooms, libraries and museums.

PRAVDA, as the senior party organ, is responsible for the editorial policies of all provincial ^{important} daily newspapers. (1) The provincial organs in turn supervise the editorial policies of all newspapers within its province. Finally, local newspapers exercise control over wall sheets and publications on the local level.

Running parallel is the control exercised by the party on the levels of the newspapers concerned: the Central Committee controls the central press; the provincial party organisation has jurisdiction over the provincial press and the local cells are held accountable for local papers.

Finally there is yet another authority, the government censorship office, GLAVLIT (i.e. chief control of literature), in existence since June 6, 1922,(2) which must put its seal on ALL PRINTED MATTER published in the Soviet Union.

As a result there is a quadruple control performed by the Central Committee:

- 1) Through appointment or approval of editors.
- 2) Through supervision of the editorial policy by the next higher editorial office.
- 3) Through supervision by party units on each level.
- 4) Through GLAVLIT.

It is evident that under existing system of control no forces which would correct or counteract the actions and policies of the Central Committee can work. No voice that could pass judgement on the value of information handed out by the Central Committee can be heard. The preceding chapter indicated how much that is needed. It is only under this system of control that such amount of propaganda which may truly be called ~~phantastic~~ can continue to appear. But the most alarming feature of the Soviet system is not that such amount of untruth is being daily administered to the people, but that all other information is excluded; that none of the misrepresentations

are ever pointed out; that the entire vast system of manufacturing semitruth goes unchecked; that it is all-pervading; that the material appears in books, newspapers, is daily broadcast over the radio and carried by loudspeakers in the streets; that it is posted on the billboards and delivered during the lunch-hours by agitators trained by the Agitprop; that these agitators dispense accepted interpretations and political comments at the parks and excursion boats; that the information reaches into every school, family, factory, into all agencies of entertainment; and - the most alarming fact of all - that this system in its essentials has existed in the Soviet Union for thirty long years and, instead of being relaxed, is now being rapidly intensified.

The essence of the system is expressed in a concise form in the LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE: "The political basis of the USSR comprises - as the most important principle of the working class dictatorship - the leading and directing role of the Communist party in all fields of economic, social and cultural activity." (3) The same theme is developed elsewhere in the same work: "The directive force in the system of the working-class dictatorship in its entirety is the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) which exercises direction in the USSR over state organs (personified by the Soviets and their ramification in the

center and in the rural areas) as well as over all other 'levers' personified by the previously enumerated organisations of toilers."(4) As the textbook explains the Communist party derives such far-reaching powers from Article 126 of the Constitution, which provides that the All-Union Communist party is "the directive nucleus of all organisations of the toilers, both public and state."

The Communist party, then, admittedly controls all media of mass communications, all institutions of culture, science and art. It enjoys a privileged position that has ever been the unfulfilled and now vanishing dream of the party bosses in America. The post-war resolutions of the Central Committee on literature, August 14, 1946, on drama, August the 26, 1946, on cinema, September 4, 1946 and music, February 10, 1948, are evidence that the fresh winds which may have found their way into the USSR during the war are being speedily driven away. While restrictive regulations which were enforced during the war in the non-Soviet countries were abolished after the war, the opposite process took place in the Soviet Union.

Thus the "Resolution on the Journals Zvezda and Leningrad" (on literature) accused the two journals of tolerating bourgeois influences. According to the Central Committee, "the needed supervision of the work of the Leningrad journals" has not been well performed.

Accordingly, the Central Committee resolved, ". . . to oblige the editorial board of the journal Zvezda, the Administration of the Union of Soviet Writers, and the Administration of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party to undertake measures for the unconditional removal of the mistakes and shortcomings of the journal . . . to correct the line of the journal . . . to appoint an editor-in-chief and an editorial board." The Central Committee was within its constitutional limits.

The May 21, 1948, issue of CULTURE AND LIFE, journal of the Board of Propaganda, reported a Conference(5) called by the Board where the control over publishing was emphasized over and over again. It was complained at the meeting that "In 1947 the Publishing House of the State Planning Commission published a number of injurious books in which the contemporary problems of bourgeois economics are treated objectively." Again Comrade Ilichev had the floor and insisted that "A Soviet publishing house, regardless of its literary specialty, cannot be merely a mailbox which accepts everything sent to it. It must be an ideological fortress against which each and all attempts to drag in an ideology alien to our Party and our people are shattered to bits." "Party members commissioned to supervise publishing work must assume a more active role in the struggle against the depraved and infamous ideology of

capitalism and against bourgeois objectivity. . . . Some publishers regard scientific and technical literature as unrelated to ideology. . . . They assume that it is to be judged only by scientific and technical standards. That such view is evil is entirely obvious. . . . Publishers. . . . are assigned by the Party. . . . to one of the most important positions on the ideological front. . . ." The Communist control over publishing, it would appear, is quite flawless. When Lysenko reported that "The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist party examined and approved my address;"(6) when the LITERARY GAZETTE on November 24, 1948, warned three Soviet physicists that they have been pursuing a course in their work which is "alien to Soviet ideology,"(7) there was probably no aspect of the spiritual life which the party did not regulate.

Nothing even remotely comparable exists in the USA. As observed in LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE "preliminary censorship. . . . in USA or England. . . . has long since been abrogated."(8) Denial of second-class mailing privileges remains the right of the Postmaster General, but is subject to public opinion and has since the Palmer era been exercised with caution and frequently against obscene literature. It has not been exercised against the American Communist party. In fact when Fadeyev somewhat rashly proclaimed in Poland in August 1948 that "anti-democratic, reactionary, imperialis-

camp led by the ruling circles of the United States of America. . . seeks to establish the rule of reaction in the image and likeness of Hitlerism," he did not mention that there were more than 180 American newspapers and periodicals circulated in the United States, reflecting the pro-Soviet viewpoint, and that there were none in the USSR reflecting the pro-American viewpoint. Fadeyev also did not point out that a few months after his speech, on January 13, 1949, the American DAILY WORKER would celebrate the 25 anniversary of its legal existence. (It should be said in this connection that in Britain DAILY WORKER was banned for a time under wartime regulations during the war after it decided that the Anti-Nazi war was after all not a deserving cause; this ban should never have happened; it was a half-hearted attempt, anyway, because the Party continued to exist legally and publish its LABOUR MONTHLY; it also continued to distribute leaflets with articles by G.B. Shaw, H.G. Wells and other prominent Britons opposing the ban; it would be interesting to speculate what would happen to any group which would refuse to fight Nazism in the USSR after June 22, 1941, or which would refuse to support the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact before that date.)

There is no evidence that the editorial board of the American DAILY WORKER or the New Masses is appointed by the US Government or the party in power as

happens in the Soviet Union; or that these papers are controlled on the state level by State Authorities and on the local level by local administration; or that they must be submitted to some American counterpart of GLAVLIT before they go to press. There is also no evidence that the manager of the Communist party publishing house, the International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York City, is a Government appointee; that anyone sees to it that this publishing house issue nothing alien to the free enterprise ideology, to borrow Ilichev's words. Professor Frederick L. Schuman, the Very Reverend Dr. Hewlitt Johnson (Dean of Canterbury), are not known to have had to submit their manuscripts to any government board. Besides the two just named, there are a number of writers reflecting the pro-Soviet viewpoint of various degrees whose works are circulated in the USA, among them John Somerville, Howard Fast, George Seldes, William Z. Foster and Jessica Smith. In addition ^{to} a number of publications reflecting the viewpoint sympathetic to the government of the USSR, there are numerous publications which though they are not pro-Soviet are critical of the American institutions. Nothing comparable is found in the USSR.

Furthermore, books which in the USSR at one time reflected the official viewpoint but become outdated owing to new official interpretations are removed from the

reach of the general reader. The Soviet people are not permitted to see in their books Stalin embracing Trotsky and read about Trotsky being founder of the Red Army, at a time when Trotsky became a counterrevolutionary and the new line asserted that he was already plotting against the Soviet Government when fighting for its survival against the White Guards; Neither is the Soviet reader permitted now to see the pictures of Stalin smiling broadly at Ribbentrop in August 1939 and read that Ribbentrop was the first non-Soviet citizen ever to have received the highest order of the USSR, the order of Lenin, when Ribbentrop has since been hanged as a war criminal. Such practice of course touches mainly the history textbooks. At one time, for instance, leaders of great popular revolts, Bulavin, Stenka Razin and Emelyan Pugachev were correctly regarded as forerunners of the proletarian revolution. Later, new heroes arose. Peter the Great was reinstat^{ed} and Prince Souvorov and Prince Kutuzov. The difficulty became soon apparent. Bulavin rebelled against Stalin's new hero Peter the Great. Prince Kutuzov after whom a new military school has been named where military drill begins at seven years of age, quelled a peasant uprising. And worst of all, Prince Souvorov in whose name Stalin created the new order suppressed Pugachev's proletarian revolution. So the role of the proletarian rebels was diminished by the explanation

that their movements contained many criminal elements. So far, the same interpretation has not been applied to the All-Union Communist party, although all members of Lenin's Politburo, except Stalin, are now officially regarded as criminal elements; though among those purged and executed in the late thirties was one ex-premier, several vice-Premiers, two ex-chiefs of the Communist International, the chief of the Trade Unions, the chief of the General Staff, the chief political commissar of the Army, the Supreme Commanders of all important military districts, almost all Soviet Ambassadors in Europe and Asia; though among those executed was the dreaded chief of the political police, Yagoda, who after having for years liquidated thousands of class enemies without a word of dissent from the people turned out to be a common criminal and was himself liquidated without a word of dissent; and though Yezhov, the man who liquidated Yagoda, on becoming head of the political police, was later executed himself.

In the United States, publications with outdated interpretations are not removed from the reach of the public. It has never been an established practice and we hope, never will be. In fact it is just there, in the libraries and universities, where in the US the corrective influences in the long run work best. There, all recorded knowledge of mankind, Soviet and non-Soviet, is accessible to all and subject to perpetual scrutiny. There enduring

values are being re-examined and saved for the coming generations. There, truth, insofar as it can be ascertained may be sought and found. There it also stays because there is no need to remove books according to the expediency of the moment.

Foreign journals and publications are another force which can act as a corrective against the propaganda of the ruling class. In the USSR this possibility is non-existent. The circulation and translation of foreign books is confined to a few classics, such as Shakespeare and Swift, and some books devoted to criticism of capitalist society, such as Upton Sinclair and George Seldes. Though American publications are purchased in large quantities (by Soviet agencies Amtorg and Four Continent Book Corporation) and shipped to the Soviet Union they are used for official research on American affairs only. No one is allowed to subscribe to foreign magazines and no foreign magazines may be either freely sold or circulated. Whatever foreign material the libraries wish to make available, it must be applied for, the name and address of applicant given, and the reason stated why the applicant wishes to read the material. The insignificant exceptions are BRITISH ALLY and AMERIKA, the two war-time allied newspapers. The maximum circulation that the Soviet Government permits is 50 thousand copies of each, for 190 million people. To

make matters more difficult, those magazines are freely on sale in restricted areas of the USSR only. As a result single sheets of the copies of AMERIKA, according to former Ambassador Smith(9), are sold on the Soviet black market at prices up to a rouble per sheet. The Soviet Government does not permit~~x~~ the circulation of the DAILY WORKER.(10) Though this may sound paradoxical, the logic behind this caution is unshakable. The DAILY WORKER is addressed to the readers whose minds have not for thirty years been exposed to one single source of information. Also, the readers of the DAILY WORKER have an opportunity to check the accuracy of its reporting by reading something else or by simply observing the facts around themselves. Consequently, by reading the DAILY WORKER the Soviet citizens would obtain a better impression of America than he has. Descriptions about the Western world found in the Soviet press could not possibly be offered to our readers for belief, not even by the DAILY WORKER.

Unlike in the USSR, foreign publications are allowed to circulate in the USA. Though under the customs law foreign publications may be confiscated this does not happen very frequently. Even if the confiscation should happen, the law provides for judicial review and there is also complete freedom for everyone, in spoken or printed word, to oppose whatever confiscation might happen. The

following excerpts from an advertisement which frequently appeared in some American magazines, such as in the NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW or the NATION, speaks for itself: "Books of all kinds from the USSR. . .Soviet records, Handicrafts, Sheet Music; 1950 subscriptions open for all Soviet newspapers and magazines. . . Four Continent Book Corporation, 55 W. 56 St., N.Y. 19." The notice is clear: all books, all magazines which the Soviet Government wishes to make available to the American readers, may be obtained in the United States. On the whole the list of the Four Continent Book Corp. contains 191 Soviet magazines of all fields, among them PRAVDA, CULTURE AND LIFE (organ of the Agitprop), GAZETTE OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR, SOVIET SPORT, SOVIET ART, PROBLEMS OF HISTORY, PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY, JOURNAL OF BOTANY, BULLETINS OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE USSR, JOURNAL OF GENERAL BIOLOGY and SOVIET PEDAGOGY. All these and many other journals may be subscribed to by anyone in the USA, translated and published in translation in the USA. Also on sale in America are the following four magazines published in Moscow in the English language: NEW TIMES, SOVIET LITERATURE, SOVIET WOMAN, USSR IN CONSTRUCTION.

No reciprocal privileges are accorded to the US in the Soviet Union. The US has no agency which would distribute its publications among ordinary citizens in the

USSR. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, the SAINT-LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, the NEW YORK TIMES cannot be circulated in the proletarian fatherland. Nor can LABOUR, the largest labor weekly in America; nor can the NEW REPUBLIC or TIME or the NATION. The Soviet leaders claim they are concerned about the plight of the Negro in the US; but the CHICAGO DEFENDER, the national negro weekly, and the CRISIS, monthly of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, are not permitted to address themselves to the Soviet citizens. The Soviet leaders maintain that they prohibit foreign publications to shield their people from the capitalist propaganda. To the Western observer it rather appears that this is done not to protect their people from alleged untruth but to enjoy the monopoly to dispense, unchallenged, their own untruth. The material of the preceding chapter lends support to this explanation. So does the fact that the DAILY WORKER shares with the capitalist papers the same uncomfortable position in the Soviet Union; unless, of course, the Soviet Government would claim that the DAILY WORKER is just another source of the capitalist propaganda.

As noted before, the Four Continent Book Corporation offers any Soviet book on sale which the Soviet Union is willing to circulate abroad. The works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Voznesensky, Vyshinsky, Lysenko, Fadeyev,

Ehrenburg, in originals or translations may be bought. They also appear on the shelves of major libraries. This, it seems, the Stalinists and their friends take for granted. They also take for granted that while Stalin and Marx may be read in the USA, the works of Bertand Russel, John Dewey, and Reinhold Niebuhr may not be circulated in the USSR. But we have to mention the difference. The Soviet ban covers not only political works but everything else as well, from children stories and fairy-tales to novels and poetry of any kind. In contrast with that, Soviet children stories, novels, poetry, may be purchased in the US from the Four Continent Book Corporation.

Similarly, the Soviet correspondents in the US may send to the USSR dispatches without the approval of any government agency. Their dispatches can contain and do contain descriptions of the New York slums, and of the plight of the Southern tenant farmer. The quality of some of those dispatches may be judged from the third chapter. Yet, the US Government saw no necessity to impose censorship. American correspondents in Moscow have to submit their dispatches to the Soviet Foreign Office and are restricted in movement. They cannot travel as much and see for themselves as the TASS people in America can.

There is little doubt that the people in America have an opportunity to arrive at conclusions after all

evidence from all sides has been studied. The existing corrective channels enable everyone to read Vyshinsky's LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE if one disbelieves the version of the Soviet law which appears in his newspaper. They afford the possibility of studying Stalin, Lenin, Marx in original without having to rely on capitalist interpretations. The Soviet interpretation of John Dewey and President Truman testifies how much such corrective channels are needed in the Soviet Union. It is a sad observation that they do not exist. If in the USSR Ivan is prone to have some doubts about PRAVDA's interpretation of events he has nothing else to turn to. He cannot study the merits of the case. He is at the mercy of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation.

Travel still remains to be mentioned as one channel of information. The Soviet citizens, as might be expected, cannot travel abroad and even when travelling at home they have to use passports (by Decree of December 27, 1932, Code of Laws 1932, 84-516)(11), which were in the revolutionary days denounced as a capitalist invention. It is often maintained that the reason for travel ban is shortage of labor. In view of the fact that the ban applies to the people of every age, this reason is invalid. Old people who do not work, are not exempt from the travel ban. When in winter 1947 the Soviet Government enacted a decree prohibiting marriage between the Soviet citizens and

foreigners, (12) it merely went to a more extreme length of its traditional policy. And its repeated pronouncements about its desire for cooperation between peoples were somewhat out of tune with its actions. In fact none of the restrictions that we have enumerated so far and none of those which we will yet enumerate can be squared with the professed policy of cooperation.

The marriage ban is defended by the Soviet representatives on very interesting grounds. At the meeting of the UN Assembly on April 25, 1949, the Soviet delegate Tsarapin explained (13) that the marriage interdict was adopted by the USSR in the defense of the dignity of the Soviet women. They were allegedly exposed to a hostile atmosphere while abroad, and some of them even wished to return home. The Soviet delegate did not mention the important circumstance that no one who did not wish to remain in the US was forced to remain there and those Soviet women who wished to return to the USSR left without difficulties. Neither did it occur to Tsarapin's party - conditioned mind that the dignity of a woman may suffer more by being told whom she should not love than by having a choice between staying in the US with her husband and between going home.

In the United States no parallel to that exists. The interracial marriage bans, still in force in some form

in more than twenty states, are product of an earlier era. Their repeal may be sought and their constitutionality tested. It was the result of the pressure of public opinion which always basically remains in our countries the determinant of change, that the California Supreme Court, in 1948, declared unconstitutional a state marriage ban which had been on the statute book since 1850 (14). It does not require intellectual acumen to see that such occurrence in the Soviet Union is beyond possibility. The Soviet marriage ban was adopted without protest and no one has yet risen against it. We doubt that anyone ever will unless and until the Central Committee lifts the ban in the name of the people, presumably again without objections. There is another important difference: the American bans are not federal and not political. There are no laws which would prevent marriage between the Soviet and American citizens. In other words, the laws that be are not political, and not directed against the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet travel ban has likewise no parallel in the USA. American citizens can travel abroad and have first-hand experiences. Only very exceptionally, passport may be refused. A predominantly pro-Soviet delegation was present at the Congress of Intellectuals in Poland, in August 1948. As Fadeyev was speaking at the conference and as he was informing the rally that ten

years' imprisonment awaited those Americans who dissented from the official policy of their government, twenty three out of thirty two American delegates voted for a resolution which was aimed at the official policy of their government. None of those twenty-three wanted to remain in Poland. Probably to Fadeyev's surprise, all went back home, apparently unafraid of any ten year prison term. American delegation was also present at the Peace Congress in Paris in summer, 1949, and another US delegation went to the Peace Rally in Moscow in August 1949. The very Rev. Dr. Johnson, who was also at the rally, frequently takes a trip to the USSR and goes back to tell the British people about his favourable impressions. Paul Robeson toward the end of 1949 did the same, equipped with an American passport. It did not seem extraordinary to him that the anti-Soviet citizens could not travel on Soviet passports or had to jump from third story windows for their salvation while the American dissidents enjoyed the blessing of an American passport. As far as we know, history over the last thirty years has not recorded any Soviet citizen travelling to an anti-Soviet rally in the US, delivering an anti-Soviet speech, then returning to his homeland and speaking about his favourable impressions in America. Nor under the Soviet law this would be possible.

In the spring of 1949 the largely pro-Soviet cultural conference was held in New York City, with the

Soviet delegation in full attendance and with delegates from all the Eastern European countries present. It was a strange occurrence to see the Soviet delegates delivering speeches directed against the American government - on the sovereign ground of the United States. It was also unique to see Clifford Odets speaking at the same conference about terror stalking America while his anticapitalistic play was being played at Broadway with large profits. It will be remembered that no anti-Soviet rally has ever been or could under the existing laws be held in the Soviet Union, with the American delegation in full attendance.

To those who in view of the travel interdict would decide to leave the USSR without the permission of the authorities, there are special laws applicable. Article 58-1-a of the Soviet Criminal Code enacts:

"High treason - actions committed to the detriment of the military might of the USSR, its independence or the inviolability of its territory, e.g. espionage, betrayal of military or state secrets, desertion to the enemy, flight by ^{or} ground or air over the frontier - shall be punishable by the highest forms of capital punishment."

This ^{was} amended by the Supreme Soviet Decree of the 26th of May, 1947, which abolished capital punishment and substituted for the death penalty, twenty-five years' imprisonment in a "corrective labor camp."

Article 58-1-c of the Criminal Code provides:

"In the event of escape or flight across the border of military service personnel, the adult members of his family, if they in any way facilitate the preparations for or committing of the act of treason, or even know about it but did not bring this to the attention of the authorities, are to be punished by deprivation of liberty for a term of five to ten years and the confiscation of all property."

"The remainder of the traitor's family who were residing with him or were dependent upon him at the time ~~of~~ the crime was committed are subject to deprivation of voting rights and exile to remote regions of Siberia for five years."(15)

This language is all too clear. The first paragraph of the article 58-1-c punishes those relatives who knew of the crime but did not report. The second paragraph provides for "lighter" punishment by exile of those whose only offence was that they were the offender's relatives and who KNEW NOTHING WHATEVER about the offence. The punishment of exile is considered lighter because it technically does not mean loss of liberty. In the case of exile the offender is required to work for the prescribed length of time in Siberia but is not placed in a full-fledged corrective labour camp, as is the case with those deprived of liberty.

Besides, there is a general "political crime" provision in Article 58 which provides that for any acts disapproved by the Soviet authorities an accused can be tried in camera, by special MVD courts and on the basis of ENTIRELY UNPUBLISHED sections of the MVD Code.(16) MVD is the new name for the NKVD, the famous Soviet security police. The secret parts of the MVD Code are made known to Soviet officials going abroad prior to their departure.

It should be explained that the term "military service personnel" applies to any person who has served in the armed forces at any time. The importance of the Article 58 will be better appreciated if we realize that the Soviet Union has had compulsory military service since 1930.

For those citizens who went on missions abroad and refused to return the punishment is equally severe. The Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of November 21, 1929, published in the 1947 edition of the Criminal Code, describes the Soviet atmosphere more eloquent in terms than we could ever hope to do:

"1. The refusal of a citizen of the USSR, an official of a state institution operating abroad, of the request of the organs of state authority to return within the borders of the USSR is to be regarded as flight into the camp of foes of the working class and peasantry and to be classified as treason.

"2. Persons who refuse to return to the USSR are outlawed.

"3. Outlawing involves the confiscation of all the property of the outlaw and the shooting of the outlaw within 24 hours after he is identified.

"4. All such cases are considered by the Supreme Court of the USSR.

"5. The names of those outlawed are to be reported to all executive commissions of the Soviets and to the organs of the OGPU (later NKVD, now MVD)."

"6. The present law is retroactive." (17)

One can readily see why Kasenkina decided that she stood a better chance of survival by leaping from a third-story window than by returning to the Soviet Union.

While to a simple-minded bourgeois such laws are a testimony that the Soviet state has still far to go to reach perfection, the Soviet leaders regard their system as the embodiment of all that is best in the history of civilisation. Also, "The Soviet Union has become the center of a progressive socialist culture," proclaimed Kalashnikov in his address, on Oct. 24, 1947, "a light to illuminate the road for other peoples and states. The prophetic words of the great Russian critic Belinsky have been fulfilled. Looking into the future of Russia (in 1840), he wrote: 'We envy our grandchildren and great-grandchildren

who are destined to see Russia ⁱⁿ 1940 standing at the head of the civilized world, giving laws to science and art and receiving reverent tribute from all enlightened humanity.'"
The same assertion about Belinsky's prophecy is found in the Soviet PEDAGOGY, Chapter III. (See, I WANT TO BE LIKE STALIN, op.cit.)

Despite the harsh laws there were mass desertions at the beginning of the Soviet/German war which were unparalleled in any other belligerent country. These desertions continued until it became clear to the deserters that Nazism was worse than the prevailing system in the USSR. As a result of the desertions entire national groups were deported to other parts of the Soviet Union after the war. As IZVESTIYA stated on June 26, 1946: "The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic presents for ratification this legislative project:
'On the ^babolition of the Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the transformation of the Crimean A.S.S.R. into the Crimean Oblast. During the great Patriotic War, . . . many Checheni and Crimean Tartars, on the instigation of German agents, joined voluntary detachments organised by the Germans, and, together with German troops, carried on an armed struggle against the parts of the Red Army. . . In connection with this Checheni and the Crimean Tartars have been removed to other areas

of the Soviet Union.'"(18) The population of the two republics numbered almost two million. There also were mass desertions from the Soviet army in Rumania in 1944 and since the end of the war Soviet deserters from the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany have continued to arrive in the Western zones.

The Russian Research Center of Harvard conducted a survey of the Soviet refugees in Europe. The New Republic on June 13, 1949, published an article by George Fisher of Harvard who made the survey.(19) It is impossible to give an exact number of refugees, according to the article, because many refugees conceal their Soviet origin. In the first two years after the war, Western military authorities frequently handed the Soviet refugees over to the Soviet organs. What happened to them is indicated by the provisions of the Criminal Code given above. It was during that time that the Soviet refugees began to conceal their nationality for fear of being returned to the Soviet Union. They preferred to call themselves Poles, Balts or what not. Only since 1947 have the allies stopped delivering the "non-returners" to the Soviet authorities.

Much to the consternation and disbelief of the friends of the government of the USSR, most of the refugees from what Article 1 of the Soviet Constitution calls the

"state of workers and peasants", have been workers and peasants. There are also intellectuals, engineers, officials of the government, The Red Army, the Communist Party and the Secret police. The refugees form a cross-section of the population. To the dismay of both the Stalinists and the Conservatives, the criticism among most refugees is directed only against the authoritarian features of the Soviet system, particularly the police. The refugees have little criticism against the public ownership of the means of production and distribution, though, of course, collectivisation is still unpopular. Very few stand for the return of Tsarism. George Fisher believes that American officials "appear to equate these aged, unreconstructed absolutists to the British type of liberal constitutional monarchists, and are giving them a disturbing amount of support." The author of the article also found that American occupation authorities "continue to be frequently ill-advised on political matters. Though the monarchists, politically, represent only a tiny minority of the Russian DP's, many of them have wormed their way into top administrative posts in DP camps; some of them are known to have been wartime Gauleiters in German-occupied Soviet territory."

The Soviet desertions which continue despite severe laws can scarcely be balanced by desertions from

our side where no such laws exist. In the latter category belong two members of the American Embassy in Moscow who decided to give up their citizenship and stay in the USSR, in 1948. This happened without difficulties and no one tried to prevent them from doing so. In the same category were three members of the British Council who decided to stay one in Moscow, one in Poland and one in Czechoslovakia. That too was perfectly legal.

The attitude of the Soviet authorities to the student exchange has not been different from its general attitude. IZVESTIYA announced on September 25, 1946, that, "The Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR has made it possible for students from Slavic countries to study in institutions of higher education in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and other cities, where they will go through a full course of instruction." (20) On October 24, 1946 MOSCOW NEWS stated that 500 students from Slavic countries were studying in the Soviet Union. In summer 1947, Jacob Malik told Professor Simmons who visited the Soviet Union on behalf of the American Council of Learned Societies and came to negotiate exchange of scholars and students with the USSR, that because the Soviet Institutions were overcrowded by Soviet students it would be difficult for them to accept foreign (American) students. (21) By that time there were about 700 students at the Soviet universities

from the Balkan countries alone.

Lately the idea of a student exchange was bitterly denounced in the Soviet Union. Soviet Professor Bernstein, in the TEACHERS GAZETTE of January 31, 1948, linked the exchange with the attempts of the USA to establish "an 'American column' in every country." Bernstein attacked the Institute of International Education of New York:

"Students sent abroad by the Institute of International Education are advised not to confine themselves to their academic pursuits, but to study the cultural, political and social life of the country to which they are sent, make friends with the local students and visit homes, and establish friendly relations with the population." (22) This charge reveals much of the Soviet outlook. While establishing of friendly relations between peoples, visiting homes of the foreigners, making friends with them and studying their culture, is generally regarded as most desirable to promote world understanding, there is a different opinion on the matter in the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders profess to see in the manifestations of friendship designs for espionage. Such fear could be regarded as genuine, if at the same time the Soviet students were permitted to go to the USA. This, however, is not the case and so other explanation must be sought. The Soviet Government is, it seems, afraid of espionage than of per-

mitting their people to make friends with foreigners and learn about America from an unauthorized source. This became clear when some universities, notably Texas, Amherst, Columbia and Cornell offered scholarships to Soviet students without insisting on reciprocal privileges. The Soviet government did not respond, though this involved releasing Soviet people from the Soviet Union and not admitting foreigners into the Soviet Union, thus excluding the possibility of espionage.

Similar hostility to anyone who has any connections with foreigners was written in the Administrative Decree, No.0054, of November 28, 1940, issued by Gusevitiuss, People's Commissar for the Interior of Soviet Lithuania. The decree defines 14 categories of Lithuanian citizens liable for deportation. The tenth category consists of "Persons who have travelled abroad or are in contact with foreign diplomatic missions; Esperantists and Philatelists." (23) Interestingly enough, the first category, i.e. liable for deportation before everyone else consisted of "members of the Russian pre-revolutionary Parties: Social-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, D.D.; Trotskyists and Anarchists." All these we note, are left wing parties. Only the last two categories, 13 and 14, were clergymen, aristocrats, landowners, bankers, industrialists, wealthy merchants, hotel and restaurant proprietors

In other words, members of the British Labor Government who have so much raised the standard of living of the working class (see next chapter) are far more dangerous than the DuPonts, Fords and Morgans.

In attacking the student exchange, the Soviet Government has so far given no evidence of espionage. Also, the Soviet students abroad are surely potential spies no less than American students in the Soviet Union. The Canadian espionage trials revealed that espionage was not foreign to the way of Stalinism.

It is difficult to see how a Soviet citizen who for thirty years has not been allowed to read non-Soviet newspapers, visit his relatives abroad, work in an American factory (idea of a workers exchange has never been welcomed by the Soviet Government), study at an American university, can be expected to have any profound understanding of the American people and its problems. It is easy to see, however, that one essential prerequisite for peace on this divided planet of ours is absent. The Soviet statesmen~~x~~ desire wholehearted cooperation with the United States but on the following conditions: the Soviet and American citizens may not enter into unauthorized contacts among one another; the Soviet citizens may not make friends with American citizens; the Soviet citizens may not read American books and newspapers; the Soviet citizens may not

travel to America; if in America officially they may not remain there even if they wish; the Soviet students may not study at American universities; the Soviet citizens may not marry American citizens; the Soviet citizens may not express sympathy with the American Government; the Soviet citizens may not listen to American broadcasts (see below). If these conditions are sincerely adhered to by the US Government then there is nothing in the way of mutual understanding, successful cooperation and world peace!

Will it be difficult now to answer the question why the Soviet Government wish to have their students learn about America by reading the Soviet textbooks rather than by going to the USA or by making friends with Americans? What is behind this attitude? Does the Soviet Government fear that some corrective influences might begin to operate once the Soviet citizen is beyond the reach of the Department of Agitation? That the Soviet people would possibly find out that in the land of a few rich and the rest poverty-stricken, some poverty-stricken have their own homes and good washing and sleeping facilities, too? That women were not all enslaved but many were objects of genuine affection no less than the women in the USSR? That there were many Negroes in America loved and respected by their non-Communist fellow-Americans? That in a country where the ruling class disseminates race hatred, the films "Home of the Brave,"

"Pinky," and "Intruders in the Dust" were among the ten best of the year 1949 and were acclaimed in the North and South alike? In other words, would Ivan find out that what he has been told for thirty years at home was the truth but far from being the whole truth? To this, chapters three and four should give an answer.

The Soviet travellers would probably be surprised to see that the Communists and their friends were not the only group by any means which is concerned about civil liberties in America; that antisemitism appeared just as despicable to many non-Communist Americans as it did to a handful of Communist Americans; that the bourgeois American Civil Liberties Union (not to be confused with the Communist Civil Rights Congress) has for more than thirty years been taking up court cases for Communists and non-Communists alike and argued them up to the Supreme Court of the United States, bearing all legal expenses; that there were many similar groups, notably American Council for Human Rights, American Council on Human Rights and National Council on Civil Rights. The Soviet citizen would be equally unprepared to discover that the Negroes have their organisations, enjoying full legal status and protection; that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has existed for more than thirty five years and has more than three hundred branches in all parts of America; that it takes up court cases for the Negroes; that it publishes

its magazines and hold sits meetins; that the Negroes have their own legal Negro Newspapers Publishers Association; that Negro women have their own National Council of Negro Women; that the Jewish and Japanese population had similar organisations; that as a result of activities of these groups the Negro vote in 1947 increased three times since 1940(24) and continues to increase, according to the latest report, for the year 1949, of the NAACP; and the number of lynchings in 1948 was two (one being a white man) as compared with 28 in 1933, 64 in 1921 and around 230 (150)Negroes before 1895.(25) Faced with these facts the Soviet citizen would likely feel like "Alice in Wonderland."

During the last war the importance of corrective information channels to counteract the official propaganda was fully realized in the Nazi-ridden countries. The Nazi press was controlled by the Berlin Press Chamber which was an equivalent of the Press Section of the Moscow Department of Propaganda and Agitation. The people of Europe not being able to rely upon the Nazi communication channels turned hopefully to the foreign broadcasts. But the Nazis had neither confidence in themselves nor in those whom they ruled and were determined to secure loyalty through ignorance. So they stepped in and began to block the reception by their own transmitters. The jamming lasted till the end of the

war, with varying degrees of strength. It was an undisputed conviction of all that once fascism was defeated, this could never happen again.

Four years later, it did happen again. In the latter part of April, 1949, (26) the Soviet Government launched a systematic jamming of the British and American broadcasts to the Soviet Union. The Stalinists who held the Nazi jamming to be a symptom of utter perversion now hold the Soviet jamming to be a very legitimate institution. The apologists say that this is done to block the stream of misinformation which flows from our broadcasts to the USSR. This, however, leaves many questions unanswered. It does not explain why the Western powers do not try to nullify the influence of the Soviet broadcasts by similar means. Indeed there would be compelling reasons for doing it. The number of radio sets in Britain, for instance, is one for every three persons. In the USSR the situation is vastly different. The RSFSR has the largest radio-using public and there is only one set for thirteen persons. The next best radio using state is Ukraine which has one set per seventy eight persons. All in all, according to the estimate of former Ambassador W.B. Smith, only a little over half a million sets exist in the Soviet Union (27) which are strong enough to enable the reception of the Voice of America. They have to be at least seven tube radios. Hence only a

fraction of the Soviet population is able to listen to the capitalist propaganda. Moreover, the Soviet Government already has complete control over all mass communications media at home. No such ~~situ~~ situation exists in Britain or the US or Canada. Would not the logical course for the Soviet Government ~~nam~~ be to let the people listen to our story and then explain through their channels that our information is not correct? If the Soviet Government enjoys full confidence and affection of the people why can it not take the risk that the Soviet people might prefer to believe our press and radio rather than their own? Surely, if the Soviet system created people which according to Zhda~~in~~ov enjoy moral superiority in our world, those people should not find it difficult to tell the truth from its opposite. All the more so since the Soviet Government has a vast information machinery at its disposal at home which stands ready to point capitalist untruth out to them and which reaches every Soviet eye and ear, while all the non-Soviet avenues of information are closed. The above points raised by the defense of the Soviet apologists would hardly embarrass Mr. Vyshinsky. Replying to Hect~~op~~ McNeil on November 16, 1949, in the UN, Mr. Vyshinsky gave an explanation for the Soviet jamming which put the ~~ap~~ologists to shame.(28) According to him, the BBC broadcasts were full of untruth about his country and the Soviet Government

was afraid, that the Soviet people would react so violently against these patent ~~xx~~ untruths, if permitted to listen, that cooperation among the two countries would suffer. Thus, Mr. Vyshinsky succeeded in representing the jamming as an effort to preserve world peace. But the cost to the apologists was heavy. Their interpretation which they so cherished and which they had cultivated for more than half a year fell to the ground. More serious still, with the jamming in full force that last meagre channel through which the Soviet people could be reached was closed. Agitprop had the better of it again.

VI. Brave New World.

There is no doubt that the Central Committee, through its Department of Agitation, make s every effort to build two great myths in the minds of the Soviet people for which supporting foundations are constantly being laid: one myth about themselves and one about the rest of the world. History, political science, biology, music, physics, poetry, humor, are all being integrated in the system of myth-building. As a part of this campaign, the leading Communists claim moral superiority for themselves and their people and maintain that their Party and their order is the creation of all that is best in the history of human civilisation. Yet, we have heard the very same members of the party, the highest in its ranks, the ministers of education, the leading writers, members of the Central Committee, all those who are in charge of the spiritual and economic welfare of their people, ^{have} we heard them systematically dispensing untruth, repeating it over and over again and implanting it in the minds of the 190 million Soviet men, women and children, from cradle to grave. While in our countries correctives exist to check the ever-present tendency to distort and to mystify, there are no correctives in the USSR. The only possibility is flight across the frontier and for that there are harsh laws and still harsher police.

This picture, however, is far from complete. All that has been said so far in this work must be read against the background of reasoning from ^{an} unprovable hypothesis on which Stalinism is built and against the background of the claims to infallibility which Stalinism makes for itself. The importance of this cannot be *sufficiently* emphasized. Of course, reasoning from ^{an} unprovable hypotheses, and illusions of infallibility are not confined to any one group of men or any one country though only under conditions of authoritarianism they seem to reach extreme proportions. Such faculties become a matter for concern, however, when their pronouncements monopolize access to the minds of men, and when no contrary opinion is permitted. When, to put it in another way, convictions about one's own infallibility become the official, compulsory, and the only tolerated social philosophy.

Stalinist claims to infallibility of their philosophy are ^tstarling and quite foreign to an inquiring mind. The basis for the claims is found in Stalin's HISTORY which we remember is a political textbook for the Communists all over the world:

"The strength of Marxist-Leninist theory consist in the fact that it enables the party to orient itself in a situation, to grasp the internal connections of surrounding events, to foresee the course of events and to discern not

only how and in what direction the events are developing in the present but also how and in what direction they must develop in the future!"(1) The same observation appears in another basic work by Stalin, VOPROSY LENINISMA.

Some predictions the Marxists made, proved indeed correct. For instance, Marx correctly predicted the rise of monopolies and the degeneration of capitalism. He was, however, not the only one and not the first one to have foreseen such development. Furthermore, the process involved in the degeneration of capitalism has been vastly different from that envisaged by him.

For the most part the Stalinist claims to infallibility have been roughly handled by those very surrounding events which they said they could predict.

In 1848 and 1857 Marx and Engels believed that history was about to deliver their revolution, embracing the whole world or at least the part of it which they identified with it - the European Continent. That has not yet materialized.

In the Communist Manifesto both proclaimed that Germany was on the eve of Revolution. Eighty five years later the expected revolution came but it was a fascist revolution. Today more than a hundred years passed since their prophecy and Germany is as far from the Communist revolution as ever. As of 1950 the Communists have been

wrong by one hundred and two years.

When Europe was in trouble in 1857, Marx wrote to his friend Engels on November 13, "Although I am in serious financial difficulties myself, I have not felt so happy since 1849 as I do today in face of the eruption." In his reply the next day Engels feared only that the revolution might develop too quickly: ". . . I shouldn't like anything to happen too soon, before the whole of Europe is completely involved. . . May or June would be almost too early. . . The bourgeois mud of the past few years had stuck to me to a certain extent after all, but now it will be washed off and I shall feel a new man. The crisis will do my health as much good as a seaside holiday, I can feel that already. In 1848 we thought our time was coming and in a certain sense it did, but this time it is really coming and everything is at stake."(2)

When the Russian revolution broke out the Communist leaders believed it was the beginning of a world revolution. Lenin held the opinion that the revolution in Russia would fail if it did not spread beyond his politically and economically backward country. That failed to materialize. On November 11, 1918, Lenin said that "The International World Revolution is near."(3) More than a year before, he expressed similar enthusiasm in the preface to STATE AND REVOLUTION: "It is clear an international revolution is

preparing. . . the whole of this revolution (i.e. Russian) can only be looked upon as a link in the chain of social proletarian revolutions which will result from the imperialist war."(4) Out of that enthusiasm the Communist International was born. Its first Executive Committee announced in 1919 that "The Great Communist International was born in 1919. The Great International Soviet Republic will be born in 1920."(5) The revolution in Hungary heightened the Communist expectations. On June 12, 1919, Zinoviev of the Comintern wired Bela Kun who was busy conducting a revolution in Hungary that "before long the whole of the civilized world will become Communist." Bela Kun was equally enthusiastic. It is perhaps a melancholy observation today that both Zinoviev and Kun not only failed to predict the course of events but also failed to predict that twenty years hence they would both die at the hands of Stalin as counterrevolutionaries. The Hungarian revolution itself failed very soon. It failed because the dictatorship of the proletariat which Kun set up had not the support of the class in whose name it claimed to exercise authority - the proletariat. It showed that it was no dictatorship of the proletariat at all, but merely a dictatorship. The following is Kun's own confession made on August 1, 1919, at the meeting of the Hungarian Soviet in Budapest: "The proletarian dictatorship ought to have met

a different end, if only we had had self-conscious and revolutionary proletarian masses at our disposal. . . . I would have wished the proletariat to fight upon the barricades, had wished it to die rather than to relinquish its domination. But I considered: Shall we, without the masses, go to the barricades, alone? . . . The proletariat was dissatisfied with our domination, already it shouted in the factories, in spite of all our agitation: 'Down with the dictatorship!'. . . . Now I realize that we have tried in vain to educate the masses of the proletariat of this country to be self-conscious revolutionaries." (6) This very man as we noted above was later executed as counter-revolutionary by Stalin.

Most of the major postulates of Communism remained unfulfilled to this day and many events took place which the Communists never foresaw. Thus Marx in his "Revolution and Counterrevolution, or Germany in 1848" ridiculed aspirations of the Slavs and particularly of Bohemia to become independent. (7) Bohemia, according to him, was a declining nation and the Czech language a declining language. The only path for these Slavs to follow, Marx counselled, was to remain attached to the population of the German stock. In 1918 the very opposite of what Marx had expected happened.

The Communists were so certain that the

Communist revolution was near and inevitable that they never foresaw the rise of Fascism, which was to play a major role in world affairs for many years.* "The Social Democrats, Trotskyists, and all renegades of Communism," was the comment of RUNDSCHAU, the Comintern weekly, No. 10, 1934(8), "declare that the accession of Hitler opens a new era of Fascist terrorism and that the labor movement has been heavily defeated. With the help of this fraud they attempted to create a wave of pessimism and distrust, to kill the confidence of the masses in their class party, and to make the Comintern and the German Communist Party responsible for the German events." When finally fascism turned out to be a very decisive force, the Communists considered this an exhibit of the last form of capitalist resistance to revolution. Yet, with Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany gone, no revolution followed.

It is perhaps too well known that the Communist revolution was to come in the most advanced countries first and that Russia was one of the last major countries where such revolution was expected. Yet, it was precisely there where it came, followed after this war by the countries in Eastern Europe. Except for industrial Czechoslovakia, none of these countries possess the qualities which Marx considered necessary for the coming of Communism. For the non-advanced countries Marx enunciated the theory of permanent

*When Fascism came they did not think it would last.

revolution which was embodied in the "Address of the Central Council to the Communist League" delivered in 1850 and drawn up by Marx.

The three contradictions which according to Stalin are indispensable for the coming of the proletarian revolution have also failed to develop to the extent expected. The first contradiction is supposed to be created by the growing poverty of the proletariat which is to reach an intolerable degree before the revolution takes place. Available statistics do not confirm the expectation. Some facts about income changes which are taking place in Britain, for instance, were given in the Political Science Quarterly, in spring 1949. The study showed that the standard of living of the wage-earners in 1948 increased by 10 percent as against the year 1938, while the standard of living of the salaried people dropped by 20 per cent and that of the richest four percent dropped by one-third during the same period. While all these are necessarily estimates only, the trend is clearly the very opposite of what Stalinism lays down. This goes far to explain why the Socialists are regarded as definitely more dangerous than industrialists and bankers.

The second contradiction of Stalin arises from the conflicts between imperialist nations. The Stalinists believe it to be inherent in historical development that the imperialist nations wage war against each other and

fight for world domination. Hence when the last war broke out the Stalinists did not regard it as an antifascist war, but as a family affair in the imperialist camp. Two years later, however, the world saw the largest imperialist nation, the United States, delivering war supplies to the only existing anti-imperialist nation, the USSR, and both fighting side by side against another imperialist nation, Germany. This occurrence was difficult to explain in Marxist terms. The United States and Britain were clearly on the wrong side of the fence. It was in his speech of February, 1946, that Stalin declared(9) that "unlike the First World War, the Second World War against the Axis States from the very outset assumed the character of an anti-fascist war, a war of liberation, one aim of which was also the restoration of democratic liberties. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war. . . could only enhance, and indeed, did enhance, the anti-fascist and liberation character of the Second World War." Thus incorrect analysis and belief in an unprovable hypothesis, led the Communists to oppose in the years 1939-41, what on their own admission was an anti-fascist. war.

The third contradiction necessary for the coming of the revolution is the conflict between the imperialist nations and the colonial peoples. This conflict has decreased instead of increased. While imperialism is

still alive, the trend is in the other direction. Since the end of the war the United States granted independence to the Philippines, Britain left India, Palestine and Burma, and the United States of Indonesia was born. This would seem to contradict Stalin's contradiction.

Despite so much evidence that the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is not an adequate tool to explain the social phenomena, Stalinism still persists in its belief that it can predict the future. As late as January 8, 1950, PRAVDA wrote editorially: "In all its activity our Party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, which gives the knowledge of the laws of general development, which enables to grasp the internal connection of the surrounding events and discern not only how and where the events are developing in the present, but also how and where they must develop in the future." (10) Though this passage is not presented as a quotation from HISTORY and from the PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, the connection is apparent.

It was this belief in their infallibility which prompted the editors of PRAVDA to publish the following statement in their reply to Professor Zhebrak's letter, on August 15, 1948 (11):

"Dialectical materialism being the foundation of our world view has always conducted an irreconcilable and decisive struggle with every kind of idealism in the field of

the natural sciences, as in the field of the social sciences. The Party, therefore, supports the Michurinist teachings which are based on the unshakable theses of dialectical materialism and which truthfully reflect objective truth."

This verdict of the organ of the Central Committee is a revealing commentary on the psychology of the builders of Communism. Under such conditions contemplative and creative faculties must inevitably perish. The mere fact that someone can hold such opinion is startling enough, but it could and does happen outside of the USSR as well. What makes it a tragedy is the fact that these opinions may not be challenged anywhere inside the Soviet Union, that no dissenting word may be expressed or published and that, consequently, the Central Committee has discovered the "unshakable" philosophy and the "objective truth" once and for all. How the Greek philosophers would fare in such climate we do not venture to say. And yet, the world is only slow to realize the terrifying possibilities which the Soviet philosophy reveals. Once someone holding power is convinced that his philosophy is unshakable and that he discovered objective truth, then the spreading of death among those who disagree, the setting up of corrective labor camps, dispensing untruth (not untruth in the Communist conception; for a Communist any difference between truth and untruth is meaningless. As Lenin expressed it, "We say

'Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is creating a new Communist society.'")(12), holding innocent people responsible for the crime of a member of the family (Article 58-1-c signifies a return to the conception of blood-guilt characteristic of the primitive societies), all this takes on a sacred character because it is done in the name of objective, unshakable, truth. It can also easily be seen that ^{the} secret ballot, liberty of opinion become trifling^{ing} affairs which can have no significance where objective truth is at stake.

Since the objective truth is in the USSR in the possession of one group people, it becomes perfectly legitimate that "The Soviet state. . . naturally does not include freedom of political parties. . . inasmuch as this freedom, in the conditions prevailing in the USSR, where the toilers have complete faith in the Communist Party, is necessary only for agents of fascism and foreign reconnaissance, whose purpose is to take all freedoms away from the toilers of the USSR and put the yoke of capitalism upon them once more."(13) In the mind of the writer of these lines there was no space for the possibility that someone might be less interested in putting on the Soviet people the yoke of capitalism than in telling them that their present leaders not only have not discovered objective truth but

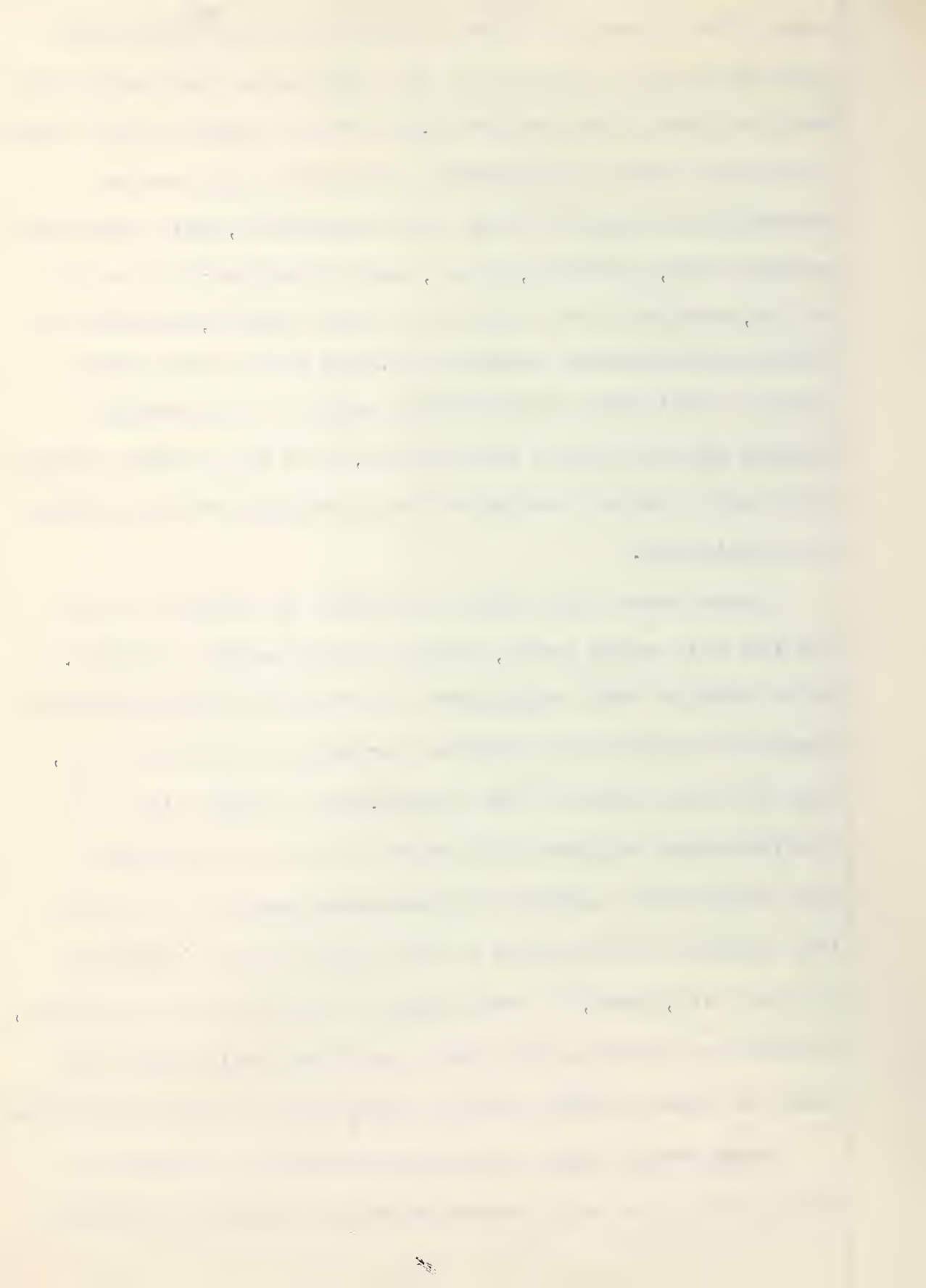
that they have for thirty years been doing their best to discredit truth, and that the whole philosophy, if successful, will bring spiritual disaster upon mankind. Incidentally, we would like to hear PRAVDA's comment if the Democratic President of the United States should today dissolve all other political parties, including the American Communist party, with the explanation that the people have complete faith in the Democratic Party. If it is realized that the Stalinists believe themselves to be champions of objective truth, many other actions which otherwise appear quite inconceivable to the Western mind become explainable. In view of their convictions it was easy for the Soviet leaders, to demand, for example, a secret ballot in the pre-revolutionary Russia and then abolish it when they seized power and not restore it till twenty years later, in 1936, by the new Constitution (see LAW OF THE SOVIET STATE p. 693), after they considered their government secure. It was this same unshakable belief in his objective truth which was instrumental in shaping Lenin's attitude toward the Constituent Assembly. Before the Bolsheviki took power, Lenin called for a Constituent Assembly which would be based on the free election. After he seized power this first (and last) free, universal, secret and direct election in Russia took place but gave the Bolsheviki only nine million votes out of the total of thirty six million. This was clearly a

blow to the Bolsheviki claims that they had the country overwhelmingly behind themselves. When the Constituent Assembly thus elected met in January 1918, Lenin disbanded it with his soldiers without qualms of conscience. As usual, Lenin - so he was convinced - expressed the will of the people much better than the people themselves. If the people voted for the Bolsheviki it was because they correctly chose the party which spoke on their behalf. If the people (excluding of course the exploiting minority) voted against the Bolsheviki, they were nonetheless, viewed objectively, for Bolsheviki though subjectively they may have been opposed to them. And indeed, who else is able to view social phenomena in their objective value but the Communists! Many attempts are now made in the Soviet Union to explain this incident. It is said that though the election was held after the Bolshevik revolution, it was based on the lists compiled before November 7 (new style). Since the lists were compiled, there was a partial split in the anti-Bolshevik Social Revolutionary party, some members of that party siding with the Bolsheviki. As all this happened before the election, the Constituent Assembly - so the Soviet argument runs - did not express the will of the people and had to be dealt with by Lenin's soldiers. This explanation however still requires much additional explaining which so far has not been supplied. Even if we

accept the thesis that some of the 27 million ^{non} Bolsheviks votes would have belonged to the Bolsheviks they would still have far from a bare majority. And even a bare majority would not square with the Bolshevik claims that they had an overwhelming support of the people. Moreover, Lenin could call another free, universal, direct, secret election; this he did not do, presumably "in the name of the people", who had just voted overwhelmingly against him. Thus while the Russian people in 1917 were undoubtedly ready for far-reaching changes and even for a revolution, it is by no means certain that their idea of revolution was identical with the Bolshevik revolution.

Three years later Lenin, convinced as always that his was the only valid truth, crushed the Kronstadt uprising. It was a similar story again. When the revolutionary sailors of Kronstadt helped him overthrow Kerensky in November 1917, they were the voice of the people. When in March 1921 the revolutionary sailors and workers in the same Kronstadt rose desperately against him demanding (among other things) free election and freedom of the press for the left-wing parties only, Lenin, the embodiment of the will of the people, crushed the uprising with heavy artillery which left thousands of these revolutionaries lying dead in Kronstadt streets.

Hatred toward those who disagree with the partisans of truth and of the only correct solution becomes an accepted



philosophy of life. ^{the Bolsheviks} As they know that this requires a long process of conditioning the human mind, they commence with the schools: "The pupils of the Soviet school," the Soviet teachers are advised, "must realize that the feeling of Soviet patriotism is saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of socialist society. . . . It is necessary to learn not only how to hate the enemy, but also how to struggle with him, in time to unmask him and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him." (14) It is generally thought that the objects of the Stalinist hate are only the so-called reactionaries and the champions of the status quo. This, in the eyes of the uninformed, gives the Stalinist hate an aura of sanctity. Little do they know that the Stalinists hate not only the enemies of the public ownership but also - and still more - all those who believe in public ownership, ^{if} their conception of it is different from that of Prime Minister Stalin. The Trotskyists, the Anarchists are all parties of the working class. They are all revolutionary; they are all deadly enemies of capitalism; they all fought Franco in the Spanish Civil War. And yet, as we saw above, they are on the top of the Stalinist list of enemies, along with non-revolutionary Socialists, far ahead of bankers and industrialists. We will never get a clear perception of the character of Stalinist thought unless we realize that the Soviet system is not

directed against the capitalist dissent specifically, as the apologists want us to believe, but against EVERYONE WHO HAS ANY SPIRITUAL RESERVATION toward Stalinism whether he be a die-hard reactionary or a most genuine revolutionary.

Trotsky was expelled as early as 1929. It was not till after 1934 that the charge of plotting with Fascism was raised against him, which thus was an ex-post justification of the outlawing of Trotskyism in the Soviet Union. Hence our devotion to the working class does in no way morally bind us to embrace the philosophy and practice of Stalinism. There is no reason to become sentimental and have a sense of guilt from the notion that opposition to Stalinism means opposition to the working class. Such sentimentality besets the apologists whose minds have been conditioned so much by the repeated claims that Stalinism is the only genuine working class philosophy, ~~that~~ they already believe it. This notion is, of course, purely subjective and unprovable. There is a number of other working class groups to which we can turn to satisfy our moral needs.

Even to believe in the Stalinist conception of public ownership does not alone suffice to be a good Stalinist or dialectical materialist. The idea of equating the Soviet Union simply with the absence of capitalism, without qualification, is quite incorrect. Stalinism is far more than that as we saw. It is an objectively true world view,

the only one that has eternal validity. Stalinism does not admit of acceptance of its economic implications and rejection of its spiritual contents; it demands acceptance or rejection in full. Unaware of this, many people were led to make a distinction between America and capitalism on the one hand, and the USSR and Communism on the other. In fact, if anyone should believe in the Stalinist conception of public ownership, in collectivisation, in liquidating the kulaks, in denying spiritual liberty to anyone except the Party members, if anyone should believe in all the dismal features of the Soviet system, but not in the dialectical conception history, then he belongs to the enemy camp. The imposition of a world view, not merely abolition of capitalism is the primary concern of the Soviet leaders.

To find an analogy to the Stalinist claims to infallibility we have to go as far back as the medieval Inquisition. A comparison will serve as illustration.

On June 22, 1633, Galileo heard the judgement passed by the Inquisition in Rome on his ~~hish~~ heliocentric theory and immediately he recanted: "Therefore, desiring, to remove from the minds of your Eminences, and of all faithful Christian, this strong suspicion, reasonably conceived against me, with sincere heart and unfeigned faith I abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and

generally every other error and sect whatsoever contrary to the said Holy Church. . ."(15)

Three centur~~ies~~es later, confronted with the same choice as Galileo, the Soviet scientist Zhebrak capitulated before the Central Committee in a letter published in PRAVDA, August 15, 1948.(16) The parallel between his words and those of Galileo is striking and ominous: ". . . now, since it has become clear to me that the basic theses of the Michurin school in Soviet genetics are approved by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, I, as a member of the Party, cannot ^{defend} positions which have been declared mistaken by the Central Committee of our Party." And further on, "As a member of the Party and as a scientist from the ranks of the people, I do not want to be regarded as a renegade. . ."

Dmitri Shostakovich, when singled out for criticism, recanted in a similar way:(17) "When today the Party and our entire country, in the words of the resolution of the Central Committee, criticize this direction of my work, I know that the Party is right. . ."

Another recanting musician, Muradeli, expressed his faith in the Party in no less strong terms: "I assure Andrei Alexandrovich (Zhdanov), the Central Committee of the Party, and all my friends that I shall strive to understand my errors and to do whatsoever the Central Committee of the Party asks of us."(18)

Stalinism being "a model of tactics for all," we should expect the American Communist party to constitute no exception to this rule. A very illuminating example of the ethics of American Stalinism was offered by the Stalinists themselves in connection with the conviction of the Trotskyists. Since Trotskyism is prescribed in the Soviet Union, it is also anathema to American Stalinism. The American Trotskyists were tried and convicted in 1941 in Minnesota under the Smith Act for sedition. The prosecution was hailed by the American Communist party while the bourgeois American Civil Liberties Union argued in the courts in defence of the accused and against the constitutionality of the Smith Act. So did many left-wing non-Communist labor organisations. At that time Louis Weinstock, the Communist leader in the Painters Union, went so far as to send a letter to the Attorney General Tom Clark asking for arguments and evidence to "satisfy some of those doubting Thomases we have around here" who wished to defend the Trotskyists. (19) Later on the Communist party abused Tom Clark for trying the eleven Stalinist leaders, under the same act and on similar charges. The Communists were in righteous wrath about the freedom of speech being on trial in America, where a few years before, they were on the side of those who tried it. Now, the Smith Act suddenly became unconstitutional when previously it was unobjectionable when applied against their

enemies. Needless to say that the American Civil Liberties Union is now again arguing against the Smith Act because it believes that freedom of speech should be safeguarded for the Stalinists and the Trotskyists alike.

The attitude of the Stalinists toward the conviction of the Trotskyists has not changed to this day. On June 17, 1949, at a Communist-controlled Bill of Rights Conference at the Henry Hudson Hotel at New York(20), a resolution demanding pardon for the Trotskyists was put forward. It was voted down. Notably opposed to the pardon was Paul Robeson, Simon Gerson, Publicity Director of the Communist Party, James Durking, President of the United Office and Professional Workers, Benjamin Davis, one of the eleven Communists on trial. The official attitude of the party also continues to be against the pardon. When voting against the pardon of the Trotskyists, Benjamin Davis made a remarkable observation: "Free speech is not for those who come among us as disrupters." The same Conference passed on the same day a resolution demanding the freeing of the Stalinists who were just being tried under Judge Medina. Interestingly enough, the Trotskyist party in America is on record as opposed to the conviction of the Stalinists.

It will be seen that the concern of the Communist party of the United States for spiritual liberty is only concern for their own opportunity to speak and act. As soon as this in full measure is achieved the concern

transforms itself into an effort to deny spiritual liberty to everyone else. The concern of the American Communists for Negro rights should always be read against this background. While the American Civil Liberties Union and many other groups stand unreservedly for Negro rights the American Stalinists limit their concern for the Negroes by two significant reservations: the Negroes must not be Trotskyists and they must not belong to what the Stalinists call reaction. In such cases, the Communist concern for Negro rights disappears.

When the Communists met to denounce the Smith Act, which they still hold to have been useful against the Trotskyists, they committed themselves to the view of democracy which reveals their moral (from the bourgeois standpoint) cynicism. "In order to realize democracy, (21) they said, "it is essential that the minds of the people remain wholly independent of the government itself. For if the government can direct or control or, by coercive methods influence the popular judgement, ultimate political power has in essence been transferred from the people themselves to the government. . . and the essential basis of democracy has been lost." This pious statement taken from the briefs on the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act, appeared in the Communist monthly POLITICAL AFFAIRS, November, 1948. That is how the Communists view democracy when the Democratic party is in power. When the Communist party is in power

this tenderness for freedom of mind and thought disappears. The concern that "the minds of the people remain wholly independent of the government itself," turns into an undisputed thesis that the government has a "directing role. . . in all fields of economic social and cultural activity;" that "Literature must become Party"(i.e. government); that the government must approve the theory of genetics; give out an appropriate warning to the phycisists; and, incredibly enough, to the statisticians.(22) When the Stalinists are the government, the fear that "the government can direct or control, or influence the popular judgement" becomes a bourgeois sentimentality. Then they say that "In creating public opinion, the decisive role is played by the Communist party and the Soviet State, which, through various media, formulate public opinion and educate the workers in the spirit of socialist consciousness."(23) The American Civil Liberties Union which has argued Communist cases before the courts is no longer desirable because it defended not only the Stalinists but also the Trotskyists. The Stalinists no longer say that the government must not influence popular judgement. They seize all publishing houses, printing presses, radio stations, and set up a special Department of Propaganda and Agitation whose only task is to influence the popular judgement. And a special article of the Criminal Code is enacted to punish

the exercise of that very right which they now claim. The extent to which control over popular judgement is performed when the Communist party is charged with the responsibility of government, became tragically clear when CULTURE AND LIFE, organ of the Agitprop, warned the humorist Arkadii Paikin that "recently his humor over radio is nothing more than laughter for laughter's sake. . ."(24)

It would be equally idle to expect the Canadian Communists to be un-Bolshevik, if Bolshevism "is a model of tactics for all." In a publication of the Labor Progressive party, THE RED BOGY, Toronto, 1947, Stewart Smith wrote:

"Canadian Communists owe no allegiance and hold no loyalty to Moscow. . . . The Communist movement in Canada is an outgrowth of Canadian history. . . . We are political inheritors of the tradition of William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis Papineau. . . . We are Canadian workers and patriots. . . . The Communist program and policy rest exclusively upon the democratic will of the people - and repudiates all anti-Marxist theories of forcible imposition of socialism on the people."(25) Mr. Stewart did not inform the public that for twenty years the Canadian Communists could not call a Party congress without the consent of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and had to send minutes of their meetings to Moscow. Particularly amusing is the reference to Mackenzie and Papineau, and the assertion that the Communist

movement is an outgrowth of Canadian history. Number 1, Volume 1 of THE COMMUNIST published in June 1921, contains a detailed account of the Constituent Convention at which the Party came into existence: "In accordance with the mandate of the Pan-American Council of the Third International to bring about the formation of a Communist Party of Canada, delegates representing the Canadian Section of the C.P., the U.C.P.(26) and other Canadian groups met in constituent convention to take the first step in the preparation of the proletariat of this country for the realisation of its dictatorship." This report leaves us with the impression that the Party is the outgrowth of the mandate of the Third International. There is no reference to the Canadian history nor to Mackenzie and Papineau.

In dealing with the Soviet Communism the world should not delude itself into thinking that the people of the Central Committee are ordinary old-line power politicians. Nor are they imperialist politicians. Nor is their moral cynicism of the ordinary kind. Their goal is to deliver mankind from its agonies and follies, to abolish poverty, to eliminate wars and to drive anxiety from the world. But since they believe that no one else is capable of doing it and no one else understands the social forces at work they are ready, in this effort, to assume the burden of freedom and the burden of making decisions for others, denying those

freedoms and decisions to everyone else. The belief in their infallibility gives them an air of maniacs with a corrupted^t vision who regard annihilation of their adversaries as a regrettable but holy task. The Soviet case, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. put it is "The nobility of the dream and the cruelty of the results." (27) Herein lies the difference between Fascism and Communism, a difference which has to be made clear if we are to encounter each with the appropriate defence. Fascism is the frank, sadistic denial of the good and can appeal only to the totally depraved. Communism is the corruption of the good which may appeal to the high-minded, and depraves them in the process.

Dostoievsky, the profound student of the Russian soul may have had an inkling of the coming of Stalinism when in THE POSSESSED he gave a picture of Shigalovism (28

"Every member of the society spies on the others and it's his duty to inform against them. Everyone belongs to all and all to everyone. All are slaves and equal in their slavery. . . Cicero will have his tongue cut out, Copernicus will have his eyes put out, Shakespeare will be stoned - That's Shigalovism. . . The moment you have family ties or love you get the desire for property. We will destroy that desire; we'll make use of drunkenness, slander, spying; we'll make use of incredible corruption; we will stifle every genius in its infancy. We'll reduce all

to a common denominator. . . The Shigalovians will have no desires. Desire and suffering are our lot, but Shigalovism is for the slaves."

Thus the vision of a classless society loses itself amid the stern realities of Shigalovism. Under Shigalovism, according to Molotov(29) "Mass projects, employing those deprived of liberty. . . are organized for a variety of different objectives - for highway construction, in particular of railways, in the building industry. . . in metallurgical plants, in timber works. . . and in transportation projects." Corrective labor camps, according to SOVETSKAYA YESTITSIA, 1929, become "the basic and numerically prevalent type of place of confinement;" to make the Five Year Plan a success "the places of confinement having at their disposal excess labor in great quantities. . . , can come to the assistance of those economic enterprises which experience a labor shortage."(30) As Dostoievsky foresaw, children now have to inform against their parents and vice versa, according to the Article 58-1-c. Shigalovism gives no figures relating to prisons and prisoners, figures, which other countries give every year. *a* Professor Schuman, the prominent apologist of the Soviet Union, expressed it, "For reasons which seems to them sufficient, the Soviet authorities have not seen fit to publish statistics regarding these penal institutions."(31)

Shigalovism publishes no adequate standard of living indices and family budget figures (discontinued since 1930) which in the non-authoritarian countries regularly appear, thus making it impossible to assess properly the economic advantages which the people gained by bargaining away their right to dissent. Socrates, Jesus, Bruno, would meet with the same fate as they did in their time. They all raised voices against the established authority. In the Soviet Union, the Soviet Authority is the established authority; and the law of June, 1931, prohibits "agitation and propaganda against Soviet authority."

Though the Stalinists no longer have to persuade themselves that whatever they do is correct, there still remains the unpleasant task of persuading others. To this end they raise a number of charges against the state of spiritual liberty in the non-Soviet countries. They say, for instance, that although there is access to materials for thought in the Western Countries, the people do not take advantage of them. With this argument the Communists comfort themselves when they claim that they have to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat to lead the people toward higher achievements and make them politically conscious. A part of their argument is correct: our people frequently neglect the values they can and should enjoy. But it is hardly an argument for dictatorship; it is an argument for

more spiritual liberty. Under our conditions the people not only have access to the sources, but complete liberty exists to remind the people of the wealth of information they can turn to. They can be constantly invited to take advantage of the values they have. This is probably a better solution than to destroy those values under the pretext that the people do not take full advantage of them. Conditions for arriving at critical opinions exist unimpaired. The task is to arouse the people to form those critical opinions. That is utterly impossible in the Soviet Union. There is neither the possibility to consult materials for thought nor the possibility to invite the people to seek them. Chapter III and IV of this study should be consulted to assess the results which follow from the inability of the Soviet people to reach the sources. In taking advantage of our possibilities we should encourage the study of Communism from the Communist sources themselves. Indeed the suggestion may be made that a more determined and more enlightened resistance to Communism would be built if the reading of the DAILY WORKER, PRAVDA and BOLSH EVIK could be made compulsory in our schools. Then the people would know not only more about the ends of Communism - which the Stalinists profess to desire - but also about their ethics.

Herein lies our advantage over the Soviet leaders who, on the contrary, have to prevent their people from studying our publications to build up resistance against our thought.

The Communists often assert that although progress under our conditions is unmistakable, it is too slow. But if this progress be slow, then what figure of speech can be devised to describe the withering away of the state only after a World Proletarian Dictatorship has been set up which will not begin until after a violent revolution which in turn will not start until after another destructive war which itself may not come for years or decades or not at all. This means that the Soviet system, its machinery for the manufacturing of untruth, its absence of liberty, its secret MVD Codes, its corrective labor camps and its blood-guilt, its building of myths about conditions abroad as compared with conditions at home, may last for an indefinite period of time. Even when the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established, it will admittedly take a long time before the ruling class dissolves itself. This puts the issue off for decades, possibly centuries. In predicting the coming of the World Revolution the Communists have been mistaken by more than a century, so far. What guarantee do we have that it will not take a few more centuries before their revolution would come. Consequently what guarantee do we have that the harsh Soviet measures

which the Communists have now for thirty years been calling only temporary expedients will not remain temporary for a few more decades or centuries yet. Is there any doubt that all the unpleasant features of the Soviet system will then have become an accepted part of the way of life? Could anyone claim that when truth has been temporarily shelved for centuries and critical faulties have not been excercised for the same length of time, that the long-promised Communist millenium would then follow?

The apologists urge us to accept Communism because the Communists have a vision of a better world and because some of them are jovial and honest people. Accepting Communism on such grounds would mean accepting the thesis that the Communists enjoy monopoly on honesty. Fortunately for us, that is not so, and there is no reason to support Stalinism for that reason, even if Shigalovism had not taken its place. There are many other people who have a vision of a better world; there are honest Socialists, honest Conservatives, honest Anarchists and honest Trotskyists. It may broadly be said that most people, unless depravity became their way of life, wish for a better world and differ only in their suggestions to bring this about. Hence it is not the aims of Communism which are decisive but their means. To hold forth their objectives at the expense of other factors is meaningless and sentimental.

This sentimentality deprives the apologists entirely of logical thinking. They are prepared to accept the fact that Stalin executed hundreds of his enemies(32), on the ground that he is honest and has a vision of a better world. They do not ask whether his executed victims are honest and have the same vision and whether they should not have been saved for that reason. By the same token, the apologists denounce some Americans who - misguided - wish to liquidate the American Communists; that must not happen - the apologist says - because the American Communists after all strive for a better world. The apologist does not ask in his sentimentality whether those misguided Americans too may not have some noble objectives. For the apologist, the Communist whether he is the Inquisitor or the victim is always to be treated with toleration.

It is worth noting that many prominent writers who have discussed the merits of the Soviet system with varying degrees of sympathy, have left the implications of the Soviet system of mind-control almost out of consideration. The Very Rev. Dr. Hewlett Johnson and Professor Schuman were impressed by the good intentions, personal integrity and desire for peace of the Soviet ruling class. They spoke of the system of mind control only in terms of justifiable defence against capitalist untruth. They did not see or did not say that the system has long since become also a defence

against capitalist truth and primarily a powerful weapon for the dissemination of the Soviet untruth. Professor Shuman's apologia(33) has 653 pages but nowhere any discussion of the Soviet propaganda may be found. How would he or the Dean of Canterbury explain the treatment of the Truman message in PRAVDA or Kalashnikov's speech or Fadeyev's invective or the Kasenkina story? * How could the Webbs believe that the Soviet Communism will become a "New Civilisation", as they entitled their study? Likewise the two recent works by ~~very~~ Vera Micheles Dean(34) carry no suggestion that the Soviet Government may be engaged in a campaign against truth, though the writer describes the limits imposed upon the exchange of ideas in the Soviet Union. All these writers made a number of proposals for cooperation with the Soviet Union but none of them suggested how we could get around or over the Department of Agitation; none of them pondered over the question of what happens to our manifestations of peace if the Soviet people learn of us only that which the Agitprop chooses to tell them. If we have some imperialist philosophers, the Soviet people are correctly told that these are imperialist philosophers. If we have anti-imperialist philosophers (like John Dewey), the Soviet people are again told that these are imperialist philosophers. If our scientists write war-mongering books this is rightly condemned and communicated to the Soviet people. If our scientists

* Insert passage p. 218

denounce war-mongering (see Absolute Weapon) they are again represented as advocating war against the USSR. Whatever we may do, the result, as far as the Soviet public is concerned is the same.

The Russian history may provide a key to many aspects of the current Soviet attitude and legislation. The deification of the Tzar, the "Dear Father", and his unlimited power over his subjects may have been partly responsible for a similar position that the Soviet leaders seem to enjoy today. On the other hand, the beginning of the twentieth century brought in its flow increased political consciousness and demands for responsible government, even among the masses, e.g. in Petrograd, which have definitely been revered or checked by the Soviet ruling class. In any case, the rise of the Soviet Communism may be historically explained in the same way as the rise of Nazism or of the medieval inquisition. Our ability to explain the system, however, does not render it any more desirable.

No discussion of Communism would be complete without pointing out a few current misconceptions about the Soviet Union. A large part of them concern the Soviet system of social security. While it is true - and the Soviet Government deserves respect on that account - that the Soviet people enjoy a great measure of social and

economic security, its extent is frequently exaggerated. It is not widely known, for instance, that old-age pensions amount to only 50 - 60 percent of the last wage; the last basic wage must not exceed 400 roubles a month which in itself is less than average wage.(35) It is also little remembered that the Decree of December 28, 1938, contained a number of provisions(36) which reduced benefits as a means of combating labor turn-over and encouraging workers to stay in one job. By the decree, insurance benefits are made dependent upon length of employment on the same enterprise. This is a clearly unsocialistic device. As a result of the decree a worker can receive full relief for temporary incapacity only if he served six years without interruption in his last employment. He receives less than a hundred percent of benefits for lesser years of continuous service, down to 50 percent of full relief for less than two years of continuous service in the same establishment. If he changes a job he starts at the bottom of the scale. Workers leaving a job of their own accord must serve six months in a new job before qualifying for any relief at all. To stimulate labor discipline the decree restricted the opportunity to take annual vacation until eleven months had been served in the same enterprise. All this has a strong capitalistic tinge.

It is an equally mistaken though common idea that the holidays in a sanatorium for the Soviet workers are

free. The two decrees of February 29 and March 7, 1940, passed by the All/union Central Committee of Trade Unions(37) laid down that all workers earning more than 300 roubles a month (this is now less than average) must pay thirty percent of the cost of their holidays. Those who earn less must pay a sum fixed by their social Insurance Council. It should also be born in mind that although the Soviet social security schemes cover all factory and office workers, workers on land who still form a huge part of the population, are not covered except as the collective farms may make provisions, or through mutual benefit societies maintained by cooperatives. As a result of these limitations, an analys~~is~~ of the budget for the year 1937, for example, shows that only 157, 6 roubles per head per annum wer~~e~~spent on "social and cultural activities."(38) There is also much reason to believe (the Soviet Government prefers not to make breakdowns) that expenditures on propaganda and agitation are included in the budget under the heading of social services.(39)

Furthermore, the idea persists that the Communist Party Congresses in the USSR are packed with the workers just coming from their workshops. It was at the thirteenth Party Congress in 1924 that the delegates resolved that "the vast majority of Party members should in the near future consist of workers directly employed in production,"

i.e. "workers-at-the-bench." In the same year workers in production formed 35.3 of the Party membership. In 1925 the percentage was 40.8, in 1927, 37.5 percent, in 1930, 48.6 percent. After that the Communist Party ceased to publish figures on the subject. 48.6 percent, we note, is still not a vast majority. At the Party Congresses where the important decisions were supposed to be taken the situation was much different. According to the Reports of Mandatory Commission, 11.4 percent of the voting delegates at the Party Congress consisted of workers-in-production in 1924. In 1927 the percentage went up to 18.4 percent, in 1930 it dropped to 17.7. The 17th Congress held in 1934 reached the all-time low. The workers-in-production, according to the Report of Mandatory Commission, supplied only 9.3 percent of the voting delegates.(40) At the 18th Congress in 1938 the Commission for the first time gave no figures as to percentages of workers among delegates.

The steps that the Soviet Government took to afford its people social security have to be placed on the credit side of the balance sheet of its activity. But to accept or reject the system the entire balance sheet must be considered. The existence of elaborate social security schemes does not imply the desirability of the system as a whole or not even of its fundamentals. The ultra-conservative Bismark in the 1880's gave Germany a remarkable system

of health insurance, accident insurance and old-age and disability pensions, which covered almost the entire working population. It was the first undertaking of this kind and scope anywhere in the world. Yet, we would hesitate to commend Bismarck's ways and purposes on that basis alone. Although Britain did not enact such a comprehensive social security legislation until 1911, on the initiative of Lloyd George, it would not be justified to jump to the conclusion that the German system of government was to be preferred to the British system. Furthermore, many social security measures, similar to those existing in the Soviet Union, are nowadays to be found in Scandinavia~~x~~ in New Zealand ^{and} other countries. More recently, a very comprehensive system of social security for the entire population was enacted in Great Britain. This, for some reason, is ignored by the apologists. So is the fact that the British people now have publicly owned and controlled coal mines, the Bank of England, inland transport, civil aviation, telecommunications, electric power and gas. Obviously, much remains to be done yet in Britain and still more in America. But there is also much left to be done in the Soviet Union.

It is also true that fascism, as the Communists claim, is the shadow that is ever-present, particularly its native brand in America. It is even a

possibility that fascism, in its deceptive coat of patriotism and Americanism, might spread and win. That is one more reason to make people conscious of this threat and one more reason to fight it. But it is not easy to see, how the existence of fascism makes Communism more of a virtue than it is and why, of all choices that offer themselves to combat fascism, Communism should be the one to take. After all, trite though the observation may seem, the spiritual liberty is the only way how men can communicate and how they can discuss fundamentals. Socio-political fundamentals have long since ceased to be discussed in the Soviet Union and indeed, under the present laws, no such discussion is legally possible. The case of Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev (all of them deprived of the opportunity of dissent long before they were charged with plotting with fascism) clearly testifies that even within the narrow limits of accepted fundamentals discussion is not guaranteed. Hence there is no limit whatsoever which the present ruling class could not impose on the flow of ideas and there is no realm of thought in which the ruling class may not exercise its limitless prerogatives. At first only non-Communist dissenters were denied the right to protest. Then followed the left-wing Communist dissenters, later the right-wing Communist dissenters, until - this is the situation now - Communist dissenters a, b, c,n, are regarded as

enemies of Stalinism. While the Soviet regime, in its beginnings, was directed against reaction, it is now directed against those who even slightly deviate from the line laid down by the Central Committee or more specifically by the Politburo. Since the Soviet experience will inevitably serve as a guide for all other countries where Communism should seize power, we have to seek better alternatives to fascism than those which Stalinism offers.

The apologists commend the Soviet ruling class for abolishing capitalism and introducing public ownership. This raises a significant point. The unsophisticated mind untrained in the acrobaticism of dialectics, has grave doubts if the abolition of capitalism, particularly when realized through a dictatorship, is alone a guarantee of a more promising life. Lenin, himself well versed in the art of dialectics, expressed doubts on this point in one of his moments of insight. "Whoever wants to approach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy," he wrote in 1905, "will inevitably arrive at absurd and reactionary conclusions, both economic and political." (41) Engels in his introduction to "The Class Struggle in France," shortly before his death in 1895 struck a similar note when he wrote that "our former point of view has been proved an illusion" by "history," that "universal suffrage" is a "new weapon of the struggle, one of the most powerful," that revolt of the

old type. . . has now in significant measure become obsolete," that the time of "revolutions of unconscious masses led by conscious minorities is past," and that "we revolutionists" are "advancing more surely toward our goals by legal than by illegal methods." (42) The Stalinists usually tend to forget that while abolition of capitalism may be an indispensable condition for a more promising life, no proof can be given that it is the only indispensable condition. Socialized industry can serve any master; the root of our evils may still remain man. How do the Communists propose to prove that private property is the cause of human egoism and not the instrument of it? How do they propose to prove that by abolishing private property the will to power will also disappear? The example of Tito should teach them that to be a good Communist still may not mean to give up will to power (This argument has meaning for the Stalinists only for they now regard Tito as plain dictator who has betrayed the mandate of his people.) Furthermore, to assert, as the Stalinists do that there is a single clearly definable cause of our social evils is quite unprovable. Social science is not mathematics and the number of the imponderables in the equation is much too great. Looking through the glasses of their unshakable philosophy the Communists do not see that existence of liberty to discuss fundamentals may be as important a component of a meaningful life as the

existence of a system where things are held in common. Chapter III and IV of this study should be read and re-read in this connection. They illustrate what happens when the bourgeois liberty which the Stalinists so much ridicule, has been temporarily shelved or administered by their benevolent dictatorship.

Once the flow of ideas has been stopped we may find ourselves drifting into a Brave New World such as is now rapidly shaping in the Soviet Union, ~~A~~ Brave New World where Akhmatova cannot write sad poetry and where laughter for laughter's sake is prohibited. A world where "models of scientific statistical analysis are contained in the works of Comrade Stalin." (43) A world where Comrade Stalin's authority is invoked in the writings on economic geography, on law, on pedagogy. A world where Stalin is "the greatest of our contemporaries" (Barbusse, Mikoyan, Beria and other official biographers of Stalin); (44) "the most profound theoretician of contemporary times" (Beria); "the greatest man of all times, of all epochs and peoples" (Kirov); "the God-appointed leader of our military and cultural forces" (Patriarch Sergius); again the "greatest man of all times and peoples" (Iskusstvo Kino, January 1947) (45); "great captain of all victories" (letter to Stalin by the Academy of Medical Science); then "the greatest scholar of our epoch" (letter from Moscow teachers, October 19, 1946); "coryphaeus

of science" (letter by the Academy of Science, November 29, 1946); again "great coryphaeus of science" (Dmitriev, Head of the Administration of Agricultural Planning of the Gosplan of the USSR, August 1948); again the "greatest genius of the contemporary epoch" (Academician M.B. Mitin, August 1948); again "the greatest scholar of our epoch" (Lysenko, August 7, 1948); further, according to BOLSHEVIK, July, 1945, even "The greatest scientist of the age" (quoted by Louis Fisher, THE GREAT CHALLENGE, 1946, p.228); and also (46) "Stalin the leader-genius, Stalin the sage, the kindly, the simple, the supremely simple. . . When I met Stalin, even at a distance, I throbbed with his forcefulness, his magnetism and his greatness. I wanted to sing, to shriek, to howl from happiness and exaltation" (Address of the proletarian writer Avdyenko greeting Stalin at a Party Congress). The whole of contemporary Soviet literature; the character of the Soviet newspaper articles and editorials; the letters from the collective farms and factories to Stalin carried by IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA, all written in the same form, with the same words of extravagant praise for Stalin at the beginning, the same at the close, and revealing no differences in contents wherever the same subject is involved; letters from the Soviet scientific institutions, unions of musicians, cinema workers, writers, teachers, all rejoicing in the same words, regretting in the

same words and capitulating in the same words; that is a terrifying Brave New World emerging. A world without unauthorized laughter and without imagination, a world where everyone creates and writes and sings in the image of the Central Committee. Marx would be astonished to see that not only religion - as he thought - but also Stalinism can become an opium for the people.

And yet, there is no~~x~~ hope for change. With all its grim features, with its untruth feeding on itself and eventually deceiving even those who produce it, the Soviet system of control utterly precludes any possibility of change, not only to the right but also to the left. Trotskyism, Anarchism, which are politically left of Stalinism are excluded along with the philosophies of the non-Communist left and of the conservative right. Advocacy of change from the dialectical materialism to any other system, even if peaceful, is impossible. Thus Stalinism must definitely be branded as reactionary. The much abused word "reactionary" may be broadly defined as anything or anyone trying to prevent a change. This is the case in the Soviet Union today. The fact that every non-Stalinist method of government and every desire for change is designated as counterrevolutionary rests merely on Stalin's choice of words. The case of Trotskyism and Anarchism shows that the term counter^revolutionary as used today in

the USSR is all-inclusive.

The fundamental issue in this struggle is not the issue of particular policies or mistakes of policy. It is emphatically not the struggle between good and evil. It is not a question of whether the Soviet policy in Iran was more reprehensible than the American policy in China, or which of the two powers violated more treaties. Still less is it a conflict between capitalism and public ownership. The fundamental difference remains the possibility of change. It is a difference of entire systems of thought. One system which does not admit of any new ideas offering themselves for belief; which lays down articles of faith in all pursuits of life; which decreed that there is nothing beyond its set of norms, The other system within which other systems may compete for the minds of men and may eventually supersede the system existing. Expressed in different terms the struggle today is one between a system where human dignity can still be achieved, and a system where it is being destroyed; where the fears and forces which degraded man's self-respect under capitalism have been replaced by forces which degrade man's self-respect at the hands of the Board of Propaganda and Agitation. It is on the one hand a system where correct solutions can still be sought though not always found; on the other hand an all-embracing system of organized monopoly production and

dissemination of untruth, and of uniform thinking such as we examined in this work. This situation carries for us a possibility of both success and failure. If we should exhaust our margin for blunders, if - with all our opportunities for thought and action - correct solutions should not be found and universal dignity not achieved then the people, frightened by the burden of responsibilities and decisions would seek happiness in ignorance and submission. Then the Soviet variety of the Brave New World could come. Then the PRAVDAS, the Fadeyevs and Kalashnikovs, would have their day. And then human dignity would be destroyed.

So far we have noway of knowing what the outcome of the struggle will be. To the Communists the result is known and has been known for many years. They possess the objective truth and on the basis of it are able to "predict the course of events." They have espoused a cause which cannot fail to lead them to victory because, as the Canadian Communist party once put it, "History is with us." (47) They hold the key which unlocks the riddle of change and which opens the way to the understanding of social forces that shape man's destiny. To us the outcome still remains in doubt. We have no ready-made philosophy to fall back upon. We have no panaceas. Where the Communists can supply formulas and cut Gordian knots we can

but offer an uninspiring belief that the causal processes are still largely unknown. The Communists can hold forth bright promises stripped of all doubts and unknowns. They can say with pride that they have personified and will continue to personify all that is best in the history of human civilisation. They have created and will continue to create a superior man, a superior art, a superior literature. They have monopolized the coveted road of progress. We, on our part, are unable to make such claims for ourselves. We have nothing so impressive to give. Our achievements pale before the galaxy of the Communist deeds. Our aspirations are limited compared with those whose ally is no less a force than history itself. In our pursuit of truth we are handicapped by the advantage of those who already possess the objective truth. The struggle is uneven indeed. And to sustain ourselves and others in that struggle we can offer but patient work, and patient study of life and men - and hope and faith.

NOTES

Chapter I.

1. All the basic documents of the Communist International are edited by W. H. Chamberlain in "Blueprint for World Conquest," 1946, from which this and the subsequent excerpts are taken.
2. Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Vol. XLII, Section II: "Canadian Communists and the Comintern", by Watson Kirkconnell, F.R.S.C.
3. Martin Ebon, "World Communism Today" , 1948, p.269. Hereafter Ebon.
4. Transactions of the R.S.C., above. This entire paragraph is based on Kirkconnell's article.
5. Excerpts from Foster's book are taken from Ebon, pp.283-4
6. Charge to the Jury, by Judge Medina, VITAL SPEECHES, Nov. 1, 1949, p.42.
7. Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., "Vital Center", 1949, p.140.
8. For this paragraph, see Ebon, pp.224-6.
9. The platform printed in full in the appendix to "Comparative Economic Systems", Loucks and Hoot, 1943.
10. For this and the following, see John Roy Carlson, "Under Cover," 1943, p.245.
11. Ebon, p.286.
12. Robert. E. Sherwood, "Roosevelt and Hopkins" 1948, p.233.

13. Ibid. p.303.
14. Schlesinger, op.cit.p.94.
15. The first declaration is printed at great length, the other in full, in Dr. Benes's PAMETI (Memoirs), Prague, 1948, pp.213-22.
16. Ebon, pp.183-4.
17. "Istoriia SSSR", Moscow, Volume III, 1946,pp.310-11.
This is the latest edition.
18. George S. Counts and Nucia Lodge, "The Country of the Blind", 1949,p.57. This is a source book which contains a great number of full reprints of Soviet speeches and articles. It will be referred to hereafter as Counts.
19. Iskusstvo Kino, January, 1947, No.1,p.7. Quoted
Counts, p.76.
- 20 "The Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Facts Relating to and the Circumstances Surrounding the Communication, by Public Officials and Other Persons in Positions of Trust of Secret and Confidential Information to Agents of a Foreign Power," Ottawa, 1946. The Commission was appointed under Order-in-Council P.C.411 of February 5, 1946.
21. Printed in full in Section III,I, of the Report of the Royal Commission.
22. Printed in full, "Vital Speeches," November 1, 1949.
23. "O Lenine", 1947, Leningrad, pp.19-25.

24. "Sochineniia," (Collected Works), Vol.1,1946,p.XI.
Quoted. Historicus, "Stalin on Revolution", Foreign Affairs, January 1949. Thereafter Historicus.
25. Bolshevik, May, 1941, p.1. Quoted, Historicus, p.3.
26. 19th Century, December, 1949, "Stalin and his Russia."
27. Bolshevik, September 15, 1948, p.1. The last quotation in this paragraph appears on p.14.
28. Andrey Y. Vyshinsky (general editor): "The Law of the Soviet State," translated from Russian by Hugh W. Babb, the MacMillan Co., 1948.
29. I. Stalin, "Ob Osnovakh Leninisma," USSR, 1949, p.77.
30. Ibid. p.67.
31. "Oktiabrskaiia Revolutsiia i taktika russkikh kommunistov", USSR, 1948, p.35.
32. ibid., p.35. Stalin Here quotes Lenin.
33. Stalin in "Istoriia", 1945, p.339.
34. "Ob osnovakh leninisma", USSR., 1949. pp.38-39.
35. Vyshinsky, p.1.
36. See above, and also "Ob osnovakh Leninisma", Chapt.VII.
37. "XV Syezd VKP, Stenograficheskii Otchet", Moscow, 1928.
Quoted, Historicus, p.35.
38. "K voprosam leninisma" published with "Ob osnovakh leninisma"), USSR., 1949, pp.135-6.
39. House Committee on Foreign Affairs, "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism", Report, 1948. Supplement I

of the Report contains full reprint of the speech, pp.184-207.

40. "Stalin", a publication of reminiscences issued by OGIz, the Soviet State Publishing House, p.93. Quoted by Chamberlain, Introduction to "Blueprint for World Conquest." For Stalin's role in the Comintern, see Isaac Deutscher, "Stalin", 1949, pp.395-398.
41. "Points at Issue", 1st Edition, March, 1949, a publication obtained from the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, quoted on pp.16-17.
42. The entire speech is reprinted in "Vital Speeches", December 1, 1949.
43. Quoted by George Soloveytschik in "Russian Perspective", 1946, p.145. Also quoted by the same author in Contemporary Review June, 1949.

Chapter II.

1. Lenin, "Collected Works", 1923, Vol. XVII, p.89. Quoted by David Shub in Lenin, 1948, p.389.
2. See Foreign Affairs, October, 1949, introductory remarks to the reprint of Revai's entire article.
3. For the text of the agreement, see Current History, April, 1945, pp.848-53. Also International Conciliation March 1945, 185-94.
4. For the text of the entire treaty, see Current History, March 1947, pp.255-70.

5. The text of communication printed in full in the Report of Committee on Foreign Affairs, Supplement II, pp.23-4.
6. The text of note appears in Supplement II, pp.26-7.
7. Released to press on March 17, 1947. See Supplement II pp.25-6.
8. The full text ~~ibid.~~ ^{ibid.}, pp.28-9.
9. Revai's article appeared unabridged in the October, 1949, issue of Foreign Affairs.
10. "Ob Osnovakh leninisma", p.37. The whole passage is a quotation from Lenin and is italicized in original.
11. "K voprosam leninisma", 1949, p.105.
12. Points at Issue, quoted on p.59.
13. For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, Cominform weekly, Czech edition, published in Bucharest, Nov.1,1948, page 6.
14. The entire address, see Vital Speeches, October 1,1949, pp.748-52.
15. Ebon, p.478.
16. For this and the rest of the paragraph, see a study of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, "The Coup d'etat in Prague", published in Supplement III to the original report; pp.17-18.
17. Problems of Leninism, p.98-9. Quoted in International Journal, Autumn, 1949, p.299.

18. Bolshevik, September 15, 1948, p.51.
19. Vital Speeches, November 1, 1949.

Chapter III.

1. Frederick L. Schuman, "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad", 1946, p.327.
2. This law is also quoted in Julian Towster's "Political Power in the USSR", 1948, p.384. In "The Law of the Soviet State", the discussion of freedom in the USSR is found on pages 610-18.
3. "Trends in Russian Foreign Policy Since World War I", Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, 1947, p.27.
4. Ibidem, p.27.
5. Ibidem, p.28.
6. For this and the foregoing, see article by Paul Winterton in International Affairs, January, 1946. The same topic at greater length is developed in "Report on Russia" by the same author.
7. Ibidem.
8. "Report on Russia". See also "The Soviet Union Since World War II", Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, May 1949, p.2.
9. The address is reprinted in full in Supplement I of the House report on Communism, p.212-30.
10. p.390.

11. Quoted by the Soviet writer Fadeyev in his address in Poland, August, 1948. The full text of the speech, as published in PRAVDA, is printed in Counts, p.320-35.
12. "Pedagogy", a Russian textbook for teachers, by B.P. Yesipov and N.K. Goncherov; translated in parts (whole chapters) by George S. Counts and Nucia Lodge under the title "I want to Be Like Stalin", 1947. The two quotations appear on pages 18 and 19 of the English work.
13. For the text of the speech, see Counts, p.262-74.
14. VOKS Bulletin, No.1-2, 1943, pp.27-8; see Counts, pp.53-4.
15. "The Soviet Union Since World War II", op.cit., p.127. Also, Counts, pp.53-4.
16. Pankratova, "Istoriia SSSR", Vol.III, 1946, p.381.
17. Quoted by Paul Winterton, "Inquest on an Ally", 1948, p.37.
18. Quoted in Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, July 1949, p.134, in a review.
19. Quoted by Christopher Mayhew, British Undersecretary of State, in the House of Commons; see Parliamentary Debates, Hansard, Fifth Series, Vol.467, columns 2961-66.
20. This information was obtained on request from the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.
21. See Hansard, above.

22. Zhdanov's speech in Leningrad, in 1946; reprinted in parts in Supplement I, House report, pp.178-81.
23. Arthur M. Schlesinger, op. cit., p.82.
24. "The Soviet Union Since World War II", p.127.
25. Quoted by Sidney Hook in "Reason, Social Myth and Democracy", 1940, p.230.
26. page. 175.

Chapter IV.

1. Text of speech in Counts, pp.283-311.
2. Full text in Counts, p.247-8.
3. Winterton, "Inquest on an Ally", op.cit.,p.207.
4. Ibidem, p.169.
5. Izvestia, December 12, 1948, p.4.
6. Article on the Soviet press in Forum, August, 1947, by S.B. Fay.
7. Ibidem.
8. This information was obtained on request from Mr. Reed-erick Reinhardt, Acting Director, Office of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.
9. For full text of Tass message, see New York Times, August 15, 1948, p.3.
10. Full statement, N.Y.T., August 17, 1948, p.3.
11. Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1947, p.29.
12. Ibidem, pp.30-31.

13. Bolshevik, November 30, 1948, p.72.
14. Public opinion Quarterly, Spring 1947, p.30.
15. Report on Russia, 1945, p.70.
16. Shelkey v. Kramer, Hurd v. Hodge.
17. Bolshevik, No.4, 1947; quoted by W.B. Smith, "My Three Years in Moscow," Instalment 7, N.Y.T., Nov.12,1949,
18. "Istoriia", p.339.
19. For full text of Truman message, see Vital Speeches, January 15, 1950, pp.194-98.
20. Pravda, January 8, 1950, p.4, for the report on Truman message.
21. Material obtained from Frederick Reinhardt, Department of State.
22. Ibidem.
23. Ibidem.
24. page 522.
25. Bolshevik, November 30, 1948, p.13.
26. The entire reprint may be found in Counts, pp.320-35.
27. See Hansard, op.cit., columns 2961-66.
28. Reinhardt, Dept. of State.
29. Quoted by Mr. Mayhew, Hansard, op.cit.
30. Ibidem.
31. December 3, 1948, p.2.
32. See the Christian Science Monitor Magazine, August 13, 1949, article by Professor Edward G. Lewis, who

analyzed one year's Moscow broadcasts. Correct transcript of the passage was obtained from Professor Lewis, University of Illinois.

33. Bernard Brodie, Editor, "The Absolute Weapon", 1946; see Counts, p.338.

34. Material concerning the Literary Gazette and the Moscow radio was obtained from the Dept. of State.

35. Counts, pp.262-74.

36. John Dewey, Problems of Men, 1946, p.82.

37. Quoted by Hook, "Reason, Social Myth and Democracy", 1940.

38. The address, as it appeared in Literary Gazette, Sept. 21, 1946, is found in Counts, pp.84-97.

39. "Vital Center", p.100.

40. Quoted by Hector McNeil; for the entire speech, see Vital Speeches, December 1, 1949.

41. Translated in "I Want to be like Stalin", op.cit.

42. Quoted by Ebon, p.274.

43. United Nations Bulletin, May 15, 1949, pp.522-25.

44. Supplement I to House Report, op.cit., pp.178-81.

45. Pravda, May 6, 1948; for the reprint of article, see Counts, pp.247-8.

46. The text of note reprinted in Supplement II to House Report, op.cit., p.89.

Chapter V.

1. IZVESTIYA has a special position. It is an organ of the government as distinct from PRAVDA which is an organ of the Party. IZVESTIYA carries less political comments than government announcements and production percentages.
2. "Points at Issue", op.cit., p.67.
3. p.159; the following passage appears on p.626.
4. For entire reprints, see Counts, pp.79-83; 119-24; 125-29; 160-66.
5. Counts, pp.249-50.
6. Ibid, 206-208.
7. Quoted ibid, p.239.
8. on page 612.
9. "My Three Years in Moscow", Instalment 14, N.Y.T. November 19, 1949, p.19. At the time of writing the work was not yet available in the book form.
10. See Mr. Mayhew speech in the British House of Commons, op.cit.
11. See Arthur Koestler, "The Yogi and the Commissar", 1945.
12. See Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year 1948, article on the USSR. The same law was alluded to by Mrs. Roosevelt on April 25, 1949, at the UN; see UN Bulletin, May 15, 1949, pp.522-25.
13. UN Bulletin, May 15, 1949, pp.522-25.
14. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1949 Yearbook, p.254.

15. For Article 58 see the following references; W.B. Smith "My Three Years in Moscow", Instalment 8, N.Y.T. Nove. 13 1949, p.49. Arthur Koestler, op.cit. "Points at Issue", p.55.
16. See W.B. Smith, op.cit. Instalment 8. Cf. "Communism in Action", by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, 1946, pp.138-39.
17. W.B.Smith ,ibidem.
18. See "Points at Issue", p.63. Full reprint N.Y.T., June 27, 1946, p.4.
19. Similar article by the same author appeared in "Russian Review", January, 1949.
20. For this and the remainder of the paragraph, see "Cultural Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union", Department of State, Publication 3480, released April 1949, pages 11-14.
21. This was a specious argument even theoretically, because the EXCHANGE would not have increased the number of students in the USSR.
22. Ibid., pp.14-5.
23. Arthur Koestler, op.cit.,p.207.
24. The Nation, August 21,1948, p.198. For partial estimates of 1948 election, see Encycl. Brit.Yearbook 1949,p.501. Cf. "Atlantic Monthly,"Nov. 1949, p.64.
25. Based on "To Secure These Rights", 1947, Report of the

President's Commission on Civil Rights.

26. Mr. Mayhew's speech, Hansard, op.cit.
27. W.B. Smith op.cit. Installment 14.
28. N.Y.T., November 17, 1949; verbatim quotation not given.

Chapter VI.

1. Stalin, "Istoriia", 1945, p.339.
2. Franz Mehring, "Karl Marx", London, 1936, p.254.
3. Counts, p.47.
4. Lenin, "Imperialism, State and Revolution" (both works in one volume), Vanguard Press, New York, 1929.
5. For this and the following quotation, see Ebon, p.18.
6. Franz Borkenau, "The Communist International", Great Britain, 1939, p.131; this work appeared in America under the title, "World Communism."
7. For the relevant passage see Bertrand Russel, "Freedom Versus Organisation", 1934, pp.213-14.
8. Borkenau, op.cit., p.404.
9. For the entire reprint see House Committee Report, op.cit., Supplement I, pp.168-78.
10. Pravda, January, 8, 1950, page 1.
11. The entire letter, as published in Pravda, is printed in Counts, pp.214-16.
12. Shub, "Lenin", p.396.
13. "Law of the Soviet State", p.627.

14. Chapter III of the Soviet "Pedagogy"; translated in "I Want to Be Like Stalin", op.cit.
15. The Library of Original Sources, University Research Extension Co, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1907, Vol.V.p.306-7.
16. The letter appears in full in Counts, pp.211-14.
17. For full reprint of the letter, see Counts, pp.173-75.
18. Ibid, p.171.
19. New Republic, June 27, 1949, p.10.
20. N.Y.T., July 18, 1949, and New Republic, September 12, 1949, p.15.
21. "From the Briefs on the Unconstitutionality of the Smith Act", Political Affairs (a Communist monthly), Nov.1948; quoted in "Vital Center", p.209.
22. For the foregoing references see Vyshinsky, op.cit. p.159; Zhdanov's address of August 21, 1946, printed in Counts, pp.84-97; Lysenko's address of August 7, 1948, printed ibid., pp.206-8; Literary Gazette, Nov.24, 1948, quoted ibid., pp.239; May-June, 1948, issue of Planovoie Khoziastvo, ibid., p.234.
23. No.4, Bolshevik, 1947, quoted by W.B. Smith, op.cit., Installment 7.
24. Culture and Life, September 11, 1948, quoted in Counts p.251.
25. For this and the following passage see Transactions of the Royal Canadian Society, op.cit.

26. C.P. stands for Communist Party of America.
U.C.P. stands for United Communist Party of America.
27. "Vital Center", p.88.
28. Verhovensky speaking; PartII, Chapter VIII.
29. Speaking at Sixth Congress of the Soviets, 1931; quoted in "Points at Issue", p.38.
30. Ibid, p.40.
31. "The Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad", op.cit.
p.340-41.
32. According to the Soviet Press, in October 1937 alone, 500 prominent Bolsheviki were executed; in the first fortnight of November, there were 150. See "Russia in Perspective", p.139.
33. "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad". op.cit.
34. "Russia: Menace Or Promise", 1947; "United States and Russia", 1948.
35. For a full discussion see International Labor Review, Vol.55, pp.261-273.
36. For this and the remainder of the paragraph see ~~abid.~~ and also "Communism in Action", Legislative Reference Service, pp.51-52.
37. Ibid., pp.71-72.
38. Ibid, pp.68-69.
39. See Report on the Second Round Table Conference held at the Columbia Faculty Club, New York City, New

- Republic, May 16, 1949, Part Two, p.11. Writer Bertram D. Wolfe and Professor Abram Bergson of Russian Institute, Columbia University, concurred on this point
40. For data for this discussion see Julian Towster, "Political Power in the USSR, 1917-47", p.316 ff.
41. Bertram D. Wolfe, "Three Who Made a Revolution", 1948, p.293.
42. Counts, pp.6-7.
43. PLANOVOIE KHOZIASTVO, May-June, 1948, quoted by Counts, p.234. For the three following items see "Economic Geography of the USSR", edited by S.S. Balzak and other translation MacMillan, 1949, throughout; "The Law of the Soviet State", op.cit., throughout; the Soviet "Pedagogy", op.cit., throughout.
44. For this and the following see Bertram D. Wolfe, op.cit. p.415.
45. Counts, p.76; for the following see PRAVDA, Oct. 3, 1946 full reprint in Counts, pp.151-53; PRAVDA, Nov.25, 1946, reprinted in full ibid., pp. 153-56; published in PRAVDA, Dec.1, printed in full ibid, pp.156-57; address at the session of the Academy of Agricultural Science, ibid, p.200; address at the same session, ibid, p.201; concluding address at the session of the Academy of Agricultural Science, reported in PRAVDA, August 8, 1948, full reprint in Counts, p.207.

46. W.H. Chamberlin, "Russian Enigma", 1943, p.118.

47. Transaction of the Royal Society of Canada, op.cit.

OMMISSIONS.

Page 186: If the Communist restrictions are merely designed to protect the truth, then why did the LITERARY GAZETTE, Sept. 22, 1948, write that in the USA "there are ten million illiterates" when, according to the US Census Bureau, the number was 2,838,000, as of 1947. (This information was supplied by the Office of Eastern European Affairs, Dept. of State, Washington.) And why did the Cominform weekly FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLES DEMOCRACY, state editorially on Feb. 24, 1950 (Czech edition) that in the USA there are 14 million unemployed, when, according to US Census Bureau, the nine-year peak reached in February was 4,684,000 (for the last figure see LABOUR GAZETTE, Dept. of Labour, Ottawa, March, 1950, p. 292). And when the Sparkman Committee reported (for a discussion of the report, NEW REPUBLIC, Dec. 5, 1949) that a third of the American families live on less than \$ 2000 a year but that the limit was not necessarily a subsistence limit because it included farm families, why did PRAVDA, Feb. 24, 1950, p. 5, announce that "According to official figures of the American statistics 76 % of the American population does not obtain the necessary 'living minimum' !

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